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Universal History,

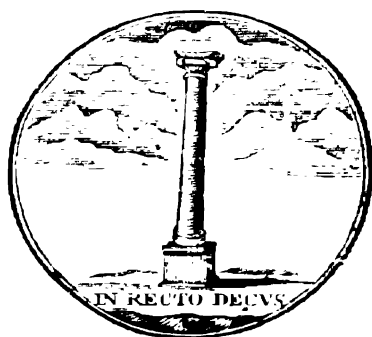
FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with
CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.
AND
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέχρησθαι μὴ κατανοῶν· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρύσθης πόσιος
ἀπὸρ ἕτεροι συνέξαν ἰγνώσιος.* Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. X.



L O N D O N,

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MDCCLXXX.

C O N T E N T S

OF THE

T E N T H V O L U M E.

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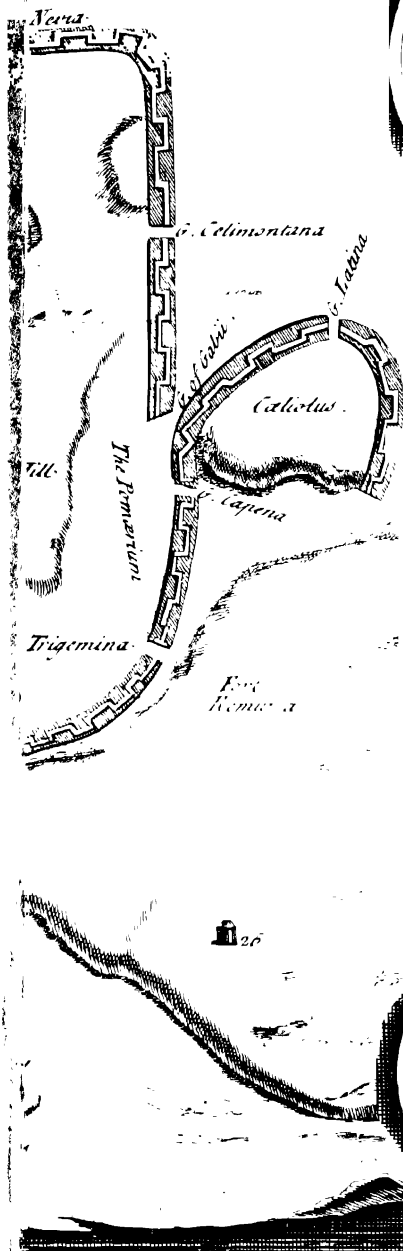
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A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

The Consular State of Rome, from the Beginning of that Government, to the Burning of the City by the Gauls.

S E C T. I.

From the Expulsion of the Tarquins to the Death of Coriolanus.

ROME enjoyed profound peace in the beginning of the new government. The army which had served under Tarquin before Ardea, having returned to the city, the consuls, suspecting they might preserve some inclination for their general, called them together in the Campus Martius; and, after having exhorted them to concord, caused the decree which was passed against the Tarquins, to be renewed in their presence. Then the consuls, standing before the altars on which the entrails of the victims had been offered, took an oath, in the name of their children, and all their posterity, that they would never replace either Tarquin, or his sons, or any of his family, on the throne, nor create any other king of Rome, nor suffer any to be elected. The

*The con
and peo,
swear, !
they will
never sa
fer the
Tarquin
or any
other, &
reign at
Rome.*

Vol. X.

B

people

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*The first rex
sacrorum.*

people having taken the same oath,* they proceeded to the election of a rex sacrorum, when Manius Papirius, a man of patrician extraction, was, by the suffrages of the people, raised the first to that dignity. The consuls, having now nothing to fear from the people, who were restored to all their ancient rights, employed themselves in securing the senators, among whom Valerius had great interest. He had expected to be named consul at the first election; and the preference given to Collatinus had displeased him to such a degree, that he had absented himself from the senate, and began to be suspected of favouring the banished king: but the public apprehension ceased, when he appeared in the senate on the day appointed for the senators to take the same oath which the people had taken. He then signalized anew his love for liberty, and swore the first, that he would never favour the pretensions of the Tarquins, nor suffer them, or any other, ever to reign at Rome^a.

*The inhabitants of
Tarquinii
send an embassy to
Rome, in
favour of
the Tar-
quins.*

While these measures were taken at Rome, Tarquin was not idle. He had made Tarquinii, in Etruria, his place of residence, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to send an embassy to Rome, with a letter from him to the Roman people. The ambassadors delivered the letter to the senate, demanding that it might be read to the people assembled in the comitia. But Valerius strenuously opposed this demand, as dangerous to the commonwealth, and by his interest in the senate defeated the first attempt of the artful Tarquin. As this body of the new commonwealth was above all others concerned to exclude kings, by whom they had been kept in a state of dependence, the consuls thought it necessary to restore the senate to its ancient majesty, and to conciliate the respect of the people, as well by the number of the senators as by their dignity. With this view the ancient number of three hundred was once more completed, by filling up the vacant places with men of prudence and interest, chosen from among the Roman knights. These new senators were called *conscripti*; that is, persons written or enrolled on the same list; for they were added to the old senators.

Though Tarquin himself was hated both by the people and patricians, a great number of young debauchees espoused the interest of his sons. The Tarquins, building their hopes on these young noblemen, who regretted

^a Dion. Hal. lib. v. p. 277, 278. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 1, 2.

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the loss of their companions, and the supporters of their extravagance, prevailed with the Tarquinienſes to ſend a ſecond embaffy to Rome, under pretence of demanding the eſtates of the exiles, but in reality to excite a faction againſt the conſuls. The ambaffadors, being admitted into the ſenate, ſpoke with great modeſty and reſerve; they only deſired, that the king's paternal eſtate might be reſtored to him, that part of it at leaſt which had been tranſmitted to him by his grandfather Tarquinius Priſcus, who had deſerved no ill treatment at their hands. Collatinus declared for complying with the demand, ſince the king promiſed, in caſe it was complied with, never to attempt the recovery of the kingdom by force of arms. But Brutus oppoſed the demand, thinking it no good policy to furniſh an enemy with money, which would undoubtedly be employed againſt themſelves. The affair being at laſt referred to the people, it was carried by one vote in the comitia, that the Tarquins ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of their paternal eſtates ^b.

While the people were employed in loading carriages with the effects of the exiles, and ſelling what could not be carried off, the ambaffadors embraced that opportunity to engage ſome young noblemen in a plot againſt the conſuls. Among theſe were three of the Aquilian family, the ſons of Collatinus' ſiſter, and two Vitellii, whoſe ſiſter Brutus had married. The latter engaged in the ſame conſpiracy Titus and Tiberius, the two ſons of Brutus. The conſpirators met at the houſe of the Aquilii; and there the reſolution of putting the conſuls to death, and letting the Tarquins into the city by night, was taken, in preſence of the ambaffadors. They bound themſelves by ſolemn oaths, with the deteſtable ceremony of drinking the blood of a murdered man, and ſwearing over his yet quivering entrails, that they would do all that lay in their power to deſtroy the conſuls, and reſtore the king. After this execrable ceremony, each of them wrote a letter to the king, as an authentic proof of their zeal for his intereſt, and put them into the hands of his ambaffadors. But notwithſtanding all the precaution uſed by the conſpirators to keep the ſecret from their ſervants, Vindicius, or, as Plutarch calls him, Vindex, a ſlave of the Aquilii, ſuſpecting his maſter's deſign, ſtaid at the door of the apartment, and, through a crevice, ſaw all the myſteries

*The am
baſſador
engage
ſome of
young pe
tricians
a plot.*

^b Dion. Halic. ibid. p. 278—288. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 3, 5. Plut. in Poplic.

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Not covered. of the conspiracy. However, he was afraid to disclose the secret to either of the consuls, apprehending, that Brutus, to save his sons, and Collatinus, to secure the lives of his nephews, might think fit to destroy the single evidence of their crime. He went, therefore, to P. Valerius, whose house was always open to the meanest of the people, and revealed all those particulars. Valerius took the slave under his protection; and, having shut him up in an apartment, under the care of his wife, went out, attended by his friends, clients, and domestics, whom he divided into two bands; one he posted, under the conduct of his brother M. Valerius, at the entrance of the house of the Aquilii; while himself, with a strong guard, entered the apartment of the ambassadors, who lodged in the same house, and there found and seized the letters, which the conspirators had written the night before. As he was coming out, he met the Aquilii; who, being surprised to see him, and suspecting that their letters were seized, endeavoured to force them from him. But all their endeavours were in vain; Valerius not only kept them, but, with the assistance of his attendants, took the principal of the conspirators prisoners. M. Valerius, his brother, had also the good fortune to intercept other letters, concealed among some cloaths which the domestics of the Aquilii were carrying away ^c.

Early next morning the people were summoned to the comitia, where Brutus and his colleague sat on the tribunal of justice. The prisoners, being brought before their judges, were, one after another, tied to stakes, with their hands bound behind them. This was so melancholy a sight, that the people could scarce refrain from tears, when they beheld, in that condition, the sons of Brutus, whom they looked upon as their deliverer. But Brutus, without betraying the least concern, began the trial with the examination of his sons. Vindicius appeared against them; and his testimony was found unanswerable. Then Brutus ordered the letters to be read, which his sons had written to the Tarquins. The proof being clear, the prisoners made no defence, but with their tears. "Titus, (said he, speaking coldly to the two prisoners, without calling them sons), and you, Tiberius, what have you to offer in your defence?" When they were thrice called upon to make their defence, tears were still their only answer. The greater part of the auditors were moved with

^c Dion, Hal. Liv. ibid. Plut. in Poplic.

compassion,

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compassion, and a confused murmur of "Banish them, banish them," was heard among the senators. Collatinus wept; and Valerius, severe as he was, did not utter a single word. This favourable disposition gave the two guilty youths some hopes; while the whole assembly trembled, and expected the decision with horror.

As the two criminals offered nothing in their defence, Brutus at length rose up to give sentence: upon which ensued a profound silence, every one being concerned for the young men, as for their own children. But Brutus, with a determined air, and steady voice, turning to the lictors, who were the executioners, "To you, lictors," said he, "I deliver them; execute the law." At these words a loud shriek was heard in the assembly; distress appeared in every face; and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity; but the consul shewing no regard to their tears, the whole assembly exclaimed with one voice, "We give them back to their country, and to their family." Neither these intercessions, nor the lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father with the most endearing names, could soften the inflexible judge: he would not even abate of the punishment, which was, in such cases, inflicted on the greatest criminals. The lictors, having stripped them naked, and tied their hands behind them, first beat them with rods, then struck off their heads, Brutus all the while beholding the bloody spectacle with a steadfast look, and unaltered countenance. This execution being performed, he came down from the tribunal, quitted the comitia, and left the rest of the criminals to the discretion of his colleague ^d.

*Brutus
demands
justice to
death.*

Collatinus, inclined to spare his nephews, allowed them one day to clear themselves; and even ordered that Vinicius should be taken out of the hands of the accusers, and delivered up to his masters. This step roused the zeal of Valerius, who had promised to protect the evidence. The lictors attempted in vain to force the important witness from him; and the people called for Brutus, insisting upon his coming back to the comitia. This inflexible patriot, without having betrayed the least mark of human infirmity, appeared again, and, ascending the tribunal, told the multitude, that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children; but that, for the rest of the delinquents, it belonged to them

*Collatinus
is inclined
to spare his
nephews.*

^d Dion. Hal. & Plut. *ibid.* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 5.

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to determine their fate, and either condemn his severity by instances of lenity, or approve his firmness by examples of justice.

Thus three articles of great importance to the rising commonwealth were left to the decision of the curiæ; to wit, 1. What punishment should be inflicted on the rest of the conspirators. 2. What punishment the ambassadors of the Tarquinienſes had deſerved. 3. What reward ſhould be given to the diſcoverer of the conſpiracy. As to the firſt, they determined, that the conſpirators ſhould, without exception, ſuffer as rebels; which decree was accordingly executed. As to the ſecond, the ambaffadors were ſpared from reſpect to the law of nations. In the third place, it was decreed, that Vindicius ſhould enjoy that liberty which he had ſecured to the Romans (A); and

but they
are exe-
cuted.

(A) It is commonly believed, that the Latin phraſe, “vindicare in libertatem,” that is, “to ſet free,” had its riſe from the name of Vindicius. Some, indeed, derive it from the word *vindiſta*, which ſignifies a wand, with which the prætor uſed to ſtrike the ſlave whoſe maſter was diſpoſed to ſet him at liberty. But probably, the *vindiſta*, or wand itſelf, took its name from Vindicius. The ceremony of granting freedoms publicly was thus performed: the ſlave was brought before the conſul, and, in after ages, before the prætor, by his maſter; who, laying his hand upon his ſlave’s

head, ſaid to the prætor, “Hunc hominum liberum eſſe volo,” “I deſire this man may be made free;” he then took him by the hand, and immediately let go his hold; whence came the Latin word *manu miſſio*, and the phraſe “e manu emittere.” Then he gave him a blow on the cheek, and preſented him to the conſul or prætor, who, after ſtriking him gently with his *vindiſta* or wand, pronounced theſe words, “Aio te liberum eſſe more Quiritium: I pronounce thee free, according to the cuſtom of the Romans.” Hence Perſius,

Vindiſta poſtquam meus a prætore reſceſſi.

When dubb'd a freeman by the prætor's wand,
I walk'd at large, and at my own command.

This ceremony being ended, the ſlave was regiſtered upon the roll of freed-men. Then he was ſlaved, and received a cap, in token of his liberty. But this ceremony of taking

the cap was performed in the temple of Feronia, the goddeſs of freed-men. In this temple there was a ſeat of ſtone with this inſcription;

Benemeriti ſervi ſedeant, ſurgant liberi.

Be ſeated, worthy ſlaves, while freemen ſtand.

The

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and besides, that he should be rewarded with all the privileges of a Roman citizen, and with twenty-five thousand asces of brass, to be paid him out of the public treasury. Though the people had formerly decreed, that the estates of the Tarquins should be restored to them, the senate refused to the declared enemies of Rome those means which they designed to make use of for its destruction; so that their palace, with its beautiful portico, was destroyed, and their lands were distributed among those indigent citizens who had none of their own. The public kept only a piece of ground, lying between the city and the Tiber, bordering on the Campus Martius, which the king had, by an incroachment on the city, added to his demesnes, and cultivated for his own profit. This piece of ground was consecrated to Mars, and became afterwards a common field, where the Roman youth exercised themselves in running and wrestling. After the field was consecrated, the Romans scrupled making any advantage of the corn which they found ready reaped to their hands; and therefore threw it, together with the trees which encompassed the field, into the Tiber. The water being at that time being very low, the trees, and sheaves of corn, stopping in a muddy place, began to form that island, which, from the many temples built on it, was afterwards called the Holy Island (B).

^a Dion. Hal. & Plut. *ibid.* Liv. lib. v.

The pileus, or cap, was, among the Romans, as is well known, a symbol of liberty. Another way of conferring freedom was by testament: a slave was said to be free by testament, when his master, in consideration of his faithful service, had left him free by his last will. This kind of *liberti*, or freedmen, were styled *orcini*, because their masters were gone to *orcus*, or the infernal regions. In allusion to this custom, those senators were merily distinguished by the name of *senatores orcini*, who, upon the death of Julius Cæsar, thrust themselves into the senate, without any just claim

to the senatorial dignity (1). From these two manners of conferring freedom came the Latin expressions, "*liber manumissione, liber testamento.*"

(B) The Romans built several temples on the island, particularly three frequently spoken of by the ancients; namely, one dedicated to Faunus, another to Jupiter, and the third to Æsculapius, which was a very magnificent structure. From these temples it was called the Sacred Island. It was joined to the city, and to the Janiculum, by two bridges, whence it took the name of the Island of the Two Bridges.

(1) Suet. in Octav. cap.

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**Brutus stirs
up the peo-
ple against
Collatinus.**

In the mean time, the weakness which Collatinus had betrayed at the trial of the conspirators, had turned the suspicions which the people entertained of him, into hatred; and Brutus took advantage of the disposition of the multitude to get him deposed. In a numerous assembly of the people, he bitterly inveighed against him, as if he had attempted the destruction of that liberty which his honour obliged him to defend. He ended his harangue with these words: "His soliciting to restore to the enemies of Rome their estates, and to grant impunity to cruel conspirators, have unmasked a partisan of the Tarquins, concealed under the appearance of a consul. Let us prevent, O Romans, the evils which a domestic enemy is preparing for us. Let us deprive him of that authority which he abuses, and wrest that sword out of his hand with which he threatens us. In my judgment he ought to be deposed. I therefore order you to assemble by curiæ, to determine by your suffrages, whether Collatinus or Brutus is to be your consul. You cannot have both; for I, from this moment, renounce the consulship, if Collatinus is to share the government with me." These words made so deep an impression on the minds of the people, that they would not hear Collatinus when he began to speak in his own defence. His only resource was to forbid the people, by virtue of his authority as consul, to hold the assembly his colleague had appointed. This prohibition was a new provocation, which raised the indignation of the people to such a height, that they cried out to have their votes instantly taken, and were going to depose Collatinus with ignominy, and banish him by a public decree; but Spurius Lucretius, his father-in-law, having obtained leave of the consuls to speak to the assembly, advised Collatinus voluntarily to resign into the hands of the people that authority he had received from them. Then he exhorted Brutus not to insist on the disgraceful banishment of a colleague, who, jointly with him, had been one of the principal authors of the common liberty; adding, that if Collatinus should, of his own accord, divest himself of the consulship, it would be but reasonable, that the Romans should mitigate the uneasiness of his voluntary retirement by their liberality, so as to enable him to support the dignity of a Roman consul in his retirement. This advice was received with universal applause. Collatinus resigned the consulship; and Brutus, after having commended his wisdom, to show that he had no personal enmity, procured him a present of twenty talents

**Collatinus
forced to
abdicate
the consul-
ship.**

talents out of the public treasury, to which he added five talents of his own. Collatinus retired to Lavinium, where he led a quiet life, and died in a very advanced age ^f (C).

Brutus, that the people might have no room to suspect he intended to govern singly, immediately assembled the people by centuries in the Campus Martius, for the election of a new consul, when Publius Valerius was chosen, a man remarkable for his eloquence, for the talent of reconciling differences, an excessive abstemiousness, severity to himself, and compassion for the miseries of other men.

P. Valerius is chosen to succeed him.

As the two consuls were equally eminent for their love of virtue, and of the public good, there was a perfect harmony between them. They began their administration by passing a law, which granted a general amnesty to all those who had followed the fortune of the Tarquins, provided they returned to the city within twenty days. This wise precaution deprived the banished king of a great number of friends and soldiers, and brought back to Rome many persons of eminent parts ^g. However, Tarquin was not so discouraged by the desertion of the Romans, as to lose all hopes of recovering the kingdom, and of obtaining by force what he could not effect by stratagem: he had recourse to the Veientes, the old enemies of the Romans; and, having engaged them, and the Tarquinienfes, to unite their forces in support of his cause, advanced towards Rome. The consuls, without delay, marched out to meet him: Brutus commanded the horse, and Valerius the foot, drawn up in a square battalion. When the two armies were in sight of each other, a motion was made on both sides to begin the onset. Brutus advanced with his cavalry; and Arunx, one of Tarquin's sons, at the same time, came forward, at the head of the enemy's horse. Arunx no sooner discovered Brutus, attended by the licitors, than, inflamed with rage, he cried out, "There he is, the enemy of my family, the usurper of my father's throne." So saying, he pushed on his horse; and Brutus flew to meet him. As the two champions were hurried on more by hatred and rage than the love of glory, passion

The Tarquinienfes and Veientes declare for Tarquin.

^f Dion. Hal. p. 286. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 2. Plut. *ibid.* ^g Dion. Hal. p. 288—292.

(C) Dionysius of Halicarnassus differs in his account of this whole matter from Plutarch; whom we have followed, thinking his relation of these transactions more agreeable to the temper of Brutus.

*Brutus
slain in the
engage-
ment.*

*The He-
trurians
retire to
their own
country.*

*Valerius
triumphs.
Honours
paid to
Brutus af-
ter his
death.*

*Valerius
suspected by
the people.*

left no room on either side for skill and precaution: they rushed on to the encounter with such fury, that they were both run through the body. Their horses meeting each other with a violent shock, threw their dying riders; and the death of these generals was the prelude to the battle, which continued till night with dubious success: for it was not known in either camp which side had gained the victory, or which had lost the greater number of men; but, in the night, the Hetrurians, being terrified by a voice proceeding from the neighbouring woods of Ardia, declaring the Romans conquerors (without doubt a stratagem of Valerius), abandoned their camp in great confusion, and returned into their own country. Then Valerius, remaining master of the field, plundered the enemy's camp; and, having caused the slain to be numbered, found that the Hetrurians had lost eleven thousand three hundred men, and the Romans but one man short of that number^b.

For this victory Valerius triumphed on his return to the city. Soon after he buried his colleague Brutus with great pomp; and gave Rome the first example of those funeral orations, which were after made in commendation of great men. The women distinguished themselves on this occasion; for, looking upon Brutus as the avenger of the honour of their sex, they mourned for him a whole year (D). As Valerius deferred for some time convening the centuries for the election of a new consul, the Romans, who carried their love of liberty to excess, began to put a bad construction upon his delays; and their jealousy was,

^b Idem ibid.

(D) Brutus is deservedly counted, by all the ancients, among the most illustrious heroes we find mentioned in history. He restored liberty to his country, secured it with the blood of his own sons, and died in defending it against an usurper. The Romans looked upon him as a second founder of their city, and owned; that he had undergone more hardships and dangers in establishing the commonwealth, than Romulus had done in founding

the kingdom. The Romans afterwards erected his statue in the Capitol, where he was placed in the midst of the kings of Rome, with a naked sword in his hand. It plainly appears, that he left no issue; and yet Tully mentions Lucius Brutus, one of the chief conspirators against Cæsar, as lineally descended from the first consul; but herein he is contradicted by most of the ancients, who tell us, that Junius Brutus left no children behind him.

in some measure, countenanced by his building at that time a fine house, on a steep part of the hill Palatinus, which commanded the forum. But Valerius, being informed of their uneasiness, caused the house to be levelled with the ground the very next night. Having called the people together as soon as it was day, he expostulated with them on their groundless suspicions, desired them to view the ruins of that building which had given them umbrage, and told them, that he designed to fix his habitation in the valley, that they might, from the top of the hill, crush him with stones, if he was still the object of their jealousy. When he had ended his speech, he ordered the comitia to assemble for the election of a new consul. On this occasion, Rome exhibited another proof of her gratitude to the first authors of her liberty; for Sp. Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, was unanimously chosen to succeed Brutus. He was the only person remaining unrewarded of the four patricians, who had bound themselves by oath, to deliver their country from slavery: he was therefore named for the consular dignity. But the new consul died a few days after his election; so that Valerius was once more sole governor. And now the many proofs, which he gave the people of his zeal for their interest, gained him the name of Poplicola, or Popular; which he ever after retained. He began his administration by ordering the axes, which were so apt to strike terror, to be taken out of the fasces, which he obliged the lictors to lower in the assemblies of the people. He made several laws in favour of the people, which greatly retrenched the consular power: by one he allowed an appeal from the consuls to the people: by another he exempted artificers, widows, and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying tribute: a third law prescribed an absolute submission to the orders of the consuls; but limited the fine laid upon those, who disobeyed them, to the value of five oxen, and two rams. He also published a fourth, making it lawful to kill, without waiting for a legal condemnation, any person who should aspire to the sovereign power. Impunity was promised to the murderer, provided he could prove the ill designs of the person he had killed. The last law he enacted was with relation to the public money, which he ordered to be removed from his own house to the temple of Saturn, where it was committed to the care of two senators of probity, chosen by the people, and afterwards called quaestors.

Valerius gets the name of Poplicola, or Popular.

His laws in favour of the people.

tors¹ (E). Poplicola had no sooner enacted these laws, and made several other regulations very advantageous for the

¹ Liv. lib. ii. cap. 7, & 8. Dion. Hal. lib. v. p. 292. Plut. in Poplic. p. 102, 103.

(E) According to Plutarch, there were no quæstors in Rome till Poplicola's time; and this office was originally annexed to that of the consuls, or rather a branch of it. But Ulpian, on the contrary, pretends, and quotes several authors to support his opinion, that there were quæstors even in Tullus Hostilius's reign. To reconcile these two opinions, it is to be observed, that the name of quæstors among the Romans had two different significations: sometimes it signified commissioners, by whom capital crimes were cognizable; and sometimes magistrates who were put in commission for managing the public money. Ulpian might speak of the former sort of quæstors, as being in the time of the kings; and Plutarch of the other, which was introduced by Poplicola in the time of the commonwealth. The office of the quæstors was to take care of the public treasure, for which they were accountable when their year was out (for their office lasted no longer); to furnish the necessary sums for the service of the public; and to receive ambassadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings, and other necessities. When the army returned from any war, the military ensigns were put into their hands, to

be deposited by them in the temple of Saturn. A general could not obtain the honours of a triumph, till he had given them a faithful account of the spoils taken from the enemy, and sworn to it. Though the quæstors had no jurisdiction, that is, could not cite any person to appear before them, or imprison a man, and might be summoned to appear before the prætor; "*Neque vocationem, neque prehensionem habebant, atque ad prætorem in jus vocari poterant,*" (says Aulus Gellius⁽¹⁾); yet the most illustrious patricians, and even those who had been consuls, did not think this office beneath them. We find in the ancient annals, that Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, and M. Valerius, were quæstors, after they had enjoyed the honour of the consulship three times. Cato the elder accepted the quæstorship after he had triumphed, and discharged the first and most honourable employments of the republic. There were at first two quæstors only, and those of the patrician order; but, as their business encreased, it was thought advisable to create two more, whose province was confined to the paying of the armies abroad, and the selling of the plunder and booty. When this regulation came to

(1) Aul. Gel. lib. xii. cap. 13.

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the people, than he assembled the comitia for the election of a new consul, which he had deferred, only because he
appre-

he passed into a law by the people, the tribunes insisted, that it should not pass but upon condition, that two of the four quæstors should be plebeians. This demand the senate and consuls opposed at first; but were at length obliged to yield to the demands of the tribunes. These new quæstors were called quæstores consulares, militares, and peregrini. They attended the Roman armies, paid the troops, and sold the spoils and prisoners taken from the enemy. The other quæstors were called quæstores ærarii and urbani, because they were quæstors of the treasury, and resided at Rome. In the last consulship of Fabius Gurgæ, that is, about the year of Rome 488, the great number of the republic caused the number of the quæstors to be doubled. The four new ones were called provincial quæstors; and each of them had his province where he resided; those parts of Italy, which were subject to Rome, being divided into four large provinces or districts. The provincial quæstors were afterwards multiplied, in proportion as the republic enlarged her conquests. The military quæstors, and the urbani, or those who resided in Rome, had neither curule chairs, nor lictors, nor apparitores, nor any other marks of distinction annexed to their office; nay, they were obliged to appear before the prætor, when summoned by the meanest of the citizens; but

the provincial quæstors, to increase the state of the Roman people, were allowed to appear in their provinces with the prætexta, and guarded by lictors with their fasces. This is plain from several passages in Tully. In his third oration against Verres, "The two Sicilian quæstors, (says he), came before me with their fasces;" and, in his oration for Plancius, he acknowledges it as a favour, that Plancius, though then quæstor, came to receive him at Dyrrhachium without his lictors, and the usual marks of his dignity. The office of the provincial quæstors was to take the same care of the revenues of the provinces, which the quæstores ærarii had of the revenues at Rome. They were particularly concerned in all cases relating to provisions; and no contract for corn could be made without them. The four provincial quæstorships were sought for by the most ambitious, before Rome had extended her conquests beyond Italy; but when she had brought the East and West under subjection, and great kingdoms were become so many provinces, the four Italian ones began to be despised. The proconsuls and proprætors, that is, the governors of those provinces and kingdoms, had each his quæstor to take care of the revenues; and then the quæstorships of the large and distant provinces were most greedily sought for by those who were
qualified

apprehended, that a colleague might possibly oppose his design of diminishing the consular power. The choice fell upon Horatius Pulvillus; and in a few months after his election, the first year of the consular power expired. Poplicola was chosen again, and with him was joined T. Lucretius, the brother of the famous Lucretia. The new consuls revived the census and the lustrum, and on that occasion, found one hundred and thirty thousand men in Rome, who were at, or past, the age of puberty^k.

Yr. of Fl.

1844.

Ante Chr.

504.

U. C. 244.

In the mean while Poplicola's second consulship being expired, he was chosen a third time, and with him Horatius Pulvillus, who had before been consul for a few months. During their consulship, Porfena, king of the

^k Dion. Hal. lib. v. p. 304. Plut. *ibid.* p. 104. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 8.

qualified to stand candidates for them. They were there out of the sight of the senate, and sometimes in rich governments, where they could raise more money, and were more honoured and respected: for this reason, when the quæstors drew lots in the presence of the Roman tribes for the quæstorships, the person, to whom any of the Italian ones fell, became the jest of the people. "He goes to the waters," said the people; meaning, that he was going to live quietly near Rome, as those Romans did, who went to Baia or Puteoli for the waters. Some think that this proverb alludes to the office of the Italian quæstors, who were often obliged to go to the sea-ports to collect the imposts the republic had laid on exported goods. The quæstors were first chosen by the people, and afterwards by the consuls, the quæstorship being originally a branch of their office. In Tully's time they were again chosen by the people in

the comitia by tribes. The office of quæstor, though often discharged by persons who had been consuls, was the first step to great employments. None could stand for the quæstorship till they attained to a certain age; but to determine the exact age the laws required, is no easy matter. Some pretend, that none could undertake this office till they were twenty-seven, and quote Polybius in favour of their opinion; for that author writes (2), that the quæstorship was not to be obtained till after ten years service in the army; and the Romans usually entered into the army at the age of seventeen. Others think, that the age fixed by the law was twenty-four or twenty-five. In process of time, when honours were obtained by intrigues and favour, these laws were neglected; for Cæsar and Pollio were quæstors, as Quintilian informs us (3), long before they were of the age the law required.

(2) Polyb. lib. vi.

(3) Quintil. lib. xii.

Clusini, one of the twelve nations of Hetruria, being gained by the great promises of Tarquin, espoused his cause, and, at the head of a prodigious multitude of Hetrurians, advanced to the banks of the Tiber. The first post he attacked was the fort of the Janiculum, of which he made himself master, obliging the Romans to retire over the bridge into the city. This first shock threw them into confusion; but the consuls, encouraging their men, passed the river with the utmost expedition, and drew them up in order of battle beyond the bridge. Porfena immediately advanced to engage them. The victory was long doubtful; but M. Valerius, Poplicola's brother, and T. Lucretius, who were at the head of the left wing, being both wounded, and carried out of the field, a general terror seized the Roman army. Horatius Cocles, a brave Roman, having endeavoured in vain to rally the dispirited legions, resolved rather to die than abandon his post. Being joined by Sp. Lartius, and T. Herminius, these three heroes placed themselves in the narrow pass which led to the bridge; and there, calling out to the Romans to break it down, valiantly opposed the enemy, till the demolition of the bridge was near completed. Then Horatius, having prevailed upon his companions to cross the river on a few planks which remained, sustained for some time alone the attack of the enemy. At length, being wounded in the thigh, upon a signal given him that the bridge was quite demolished, he leaped into the river, and reached the opposite bank, through a shower of darts. Thus, by the wonderful bravery of one man, were the city and republic saved from impending ruin. The whole city was so sensible of this service, that they all hastened to pay their acknowledgements to their deliverer. They crowned him at his arrival; carried him on their arms from the place where he landed into the city; and erected his statue of brass in the temple of Vulcan. The senate gave him as much land as one plough could enclose within a circular furrow in one day; and though there was a great scarcity in Rome, yet the inhabitants, to the number of three hundred thousand, assessed themselves to make him a present of as much provisions as each of them consumed in a day. However, as Horatius had but one eye, whence he was surnamed Cocles, and continued lame the remaining part of his life, these defects prevented his ever being elected consul.

*Porfena,
king of
Clusium,
espouses
the cause
of the Tar-
quins.*

*The re-
markable
bravery of
Horatius
Cocles.*

* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 9, 10. Dion. Hal. lib. v, p. 293—295.

*The city
reduced to
great diffi-
culties by
famine.*

As Porfena was master of the country on both sides of the river, it was very difficult to find provisions for so great a number of inhabitants. A famine therefore began to be felt, and many of the indigent populace, who, in such cases, are the first sufferers, went to seek bread in the enemy's camp; but the consuls supported the courage of the best citizens, by assuring them, that a convoy of corn would soon arrive in the camp from Pometia. Their expectations were not disappointed; for many boats loaded with corn safely entered the port of Rome in the night. In a short time the city was again reduced to great difficulties; which Porfena having notice of, sent the Roman intelligence, that he would deliver them from the hunger they suffered, if they would receive their old masters; but they, notwithstanding their present distress, returned this answer, "That hunger was a less evil than slavery and oppression."

*The despe-
rate enter-
prize, and
wonderful
resolution,
of Mucius
Scaevola.*

In the mean time the consuls formed a scheme for drawing the enemy into an ambuscade; and for that purpose spread at Rome a report, which was soon carried into the Hetrurian camp by the slaves who deserted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country, would be sent to graze in the fields under a guard. This bait drew the enemy into an ambush, in which five thousand of them were cut in pieces: but notwithstanding this, and some other small advantages, Rome was almost exhausted with so long a siege, when Mucius Cordus, a young Roman of illustrious birth, formed a design, which raised the courage of the people. He obtained the consent of the consuls and senate, to execute a plan which he had formed against the enemy. Thus authorised, he crossed the Tiber in the Hetrurian habit, entered the enemy's camp undiscovered, mixed with the Hetrurian soldiers, whose language he had learned from his infancy, and made his way to the king's tent. It happened to be the day on which the troops were all reviewed and paid; and Porfena's secretary, magnificently dressed, was sitting on the same tribunal with the king, giving audience, and receiving petitions. Mucius, mistaking him for the king, leaped upon the tribunal, and with one stroke of a poignard, which he had concealed under his garment, laid him dead at the king's feet. He then attempted to make his escape through the multitude that stood amazed at so bold and unexpected an attempt; but being seized, and

^m Dion. Hal. *ibid.*

brought back to the tribunal, which he had just stained with blood, "Execrable assassin (said the king), who art thou? whence comest thou? who are thy accomplices?" Mucius, less terrified than his judge, replied, "I am a Roman, and my name is Mucius Cordus. My design was to deliver Rome from her most cruel enemy; discharge therefore all thy fury upon me. Thou hast been an eye-witness of my courage; now try my constancy with tortures; and then thou wilt be forced to confess, that Roman bravery has made me capable both of attempting whatever man can do, and suffering what human nature can endure." This resolute answer filled Porfena with amazement; but he was still more surprised, when he saw the Roman, with a steady countenance, thrust his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there hold it for some time, without shewing any signs of pain. The king's resentment was changed into admiration. Porfena granted him his life and liberty, and even restored him the dagger which he had intended to use against his life. Mucius, who had now lost the use of his right hand, took it with his left; and thence acquired the surname of *Scævola*, that is, *Left-handed*™.

Mucius was in his turn charmed with the generosity of his enemy; but had the presence of mind to invent a story for the service of his country. He pretended to discover to the king a plot, which, he said, was formed at Rome against his life by three hundred young Romans, all as resolute as himself, who were dispersed in the Hetrurian camp, and had bound themselves, by the most sacred oaths, to attempt his life one after another, until his death should be effected. Porfena, struck with terror at this pretended discovery, as soon as Mucius was retired, called a council to deliberate about the means of preserving himself from the dangers which threatened him. His friends and counsellors suggested various precautions; but none of them seeming sufficient to remove his uneasiness, his son Arunx, a great admirer of the Roman virtue, advised him to render all precautions needless, by abandoning the cause of a few exiles, and concluding a peace with the Romans. His advice made an impression on Porfena; and as the Hetrurians had already begun to complain of the length of the siege, he sent deputies to Rome, whose demands shewed, that their master had much abated of his former pretensions; for they did not insist on the restoration of the Tarquins, but only on the restitution of their estates, or an equivalent. In regard of their own nation,

Porfena intimidated by the courage of the Romans.

Porfena desists from his demand of having Tarquin restored.

™ Liv. lib. ii. cap. 12. Plut. in Poplic.

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they required the Romans to reinstate the Veientes in the possession of seven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars. The ambassadors were received at Rome with joy; and their demands being heard in the senate, Poplicola prevailed upon the senators to comply with them; but the people would not consent to the first article, until Porfena should have heard the strong reasons they had to offer against it; and then they (they said), would be willing to leave it to his arbitration. As to the villages, they readily agreed to their being restored, and even offered hostages for the performance of this article. A truce being agreed on, the Romans sent deputies to Porfena's camp, to plead their cause against the Tarquins, and with them the hostages they had promised, ten young men, and as many virgins, of the most illustrious families in Rome.

Among these were the sons of Horatius, the consul, Valeria, the daughter of Poplicola, and the famous Clælia. The reception Porfena gave the Roman envoys, raised the jealousy of the Tarquins, who, still retaining their ancient pride, refused to admit Porfena for a judge between them and the Romans. But the king, without any regard to their opposition, resolved to satisfy himself, by an exact inquiry, whether the protection he had given the Tarquins was just. Before the cause was opened before the Roman deputies, news were brought, that the young women, whom the Romans had sent as hostages, had ventured to swim across the Tiber, and were returned to Rome. They had gone to bathe in the river, when Clælia happening to turn her eyes towards her native city, was so attracted by the sight, that she ventured to swim across to the other side; and her example being happily followed by her companions, they returned in safety to their respective families^o (F). The return of the hostages

The adventure of Clælia.

^o Liv. lib. ii. cap. 13.

(F) Authors vary as to the circumstances of this fact; for Livy says, that the young women crossed the river in sight of the Hetrurians, who lined the shore, and in the midst of the darts which were discharged at them from all parts. Aurelius Victor and Florus tell us, that Clælia having acci-

dently found a horse, crossed the river on horseback. Porfena having presented her with a fine horse, might have given rise to this fable. An equestrian statue was erected to her memory in the Via Sacra, which, according to Plutarch, was to be seen in his time (1).

(1) Plut. in Poplicol.

gave

gave the consul Poplicola great uneasiness, for he was afraid that this rash action would be imputed to want of fidelity in the Romans. To remove, therefore, all suspicions, he sent a deputation to the Heturrian camp, assuring the king, that Rome had no share in the foolish attempt of the young women, and promising to send them immediately back to the camp from whence they had fled. Porfena was easily appeased; but when it was known that the hostages would speedily return, the Tarquins, without any regard to the truce, or respect to the king their protector, lay in ambush on the road to surprise them. Poplicola, having put himself at the head of the Roman troops who escorted them, sustained the attack of the Tarquins, though sudden and unexpected, till his daughter Valeria rode full speed to the Heturrian camp, and gave notice of the danger to which her father and companions were exposed; and then Arunx, the king's son, flying with a great body of cavalry to their relief, put the aggressors to the rout.

This notorious treachery in the Tarquins gave Porfena strong suspicions of the badness of their cause. He therefore assembled the chief commanders of the Heturrians, and having heard in their presence the complaints of the Romans, and the justification of their proceedings against the Tarquins, he was so struck with horror at the recital of the crimes the Tarquins were charged with, that he immediately ordered them to leave his camp, declaring, that he renounced his alliance with them, and would no longer afford them the rights of hospitality. He then commanded the ten virgins to be brought before him, and enquired who was the first author, and chief manager, of their escape. They all kept silence, till Clælia herself, with an air of intrepidity, confessed, that she alone was guilty, and that she had encouraged the others by her advice. Upon this declaration, the king, extolling her resolution above the bravery of Horatius, and the intrepidity of Mucius, made her a present of a fine horse, with sumptuous furniture. Then he concluded a peace with the Romans, and restored to them all their hostages, declaring, that their promise was to him sufficient security for the performance of the articles P.

Porfena renounces his alliance with the Tarquins,

and makes a peace with the Romans.

This prince exhibited, before his departure, a farther testimony of his respect and friendship for the Romans. He knew that Rome was greatly distressed for want of

His generosity to the Romans.

P Dion. Hal. p. 304. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 12. Plut. ibid.

provisions; but being afraid to offend the inhabitants by relieving them in a direct manner, he ordered his soldiers to leave behind them their tents and necessaries, and carry nothing with them but their arms. As his camp abounded with all sorts of provisions, Rome was thus much relieved in her wants. The moveables and corn of the Hetrurians were sold by auction to private persons; and this was the origin of the custom of making proclamation by a herald, whenever any effects belonging to the public were to be sold, in the following words: "These are Porfena's goods." The design of this expression was to preserve the memory of that prince's kindness. The senate erected a statue of the king near the comitium, and sent an embassy to him with presents, consisting of a throne adorned with ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe ¹.

*The temple
of Jupiter
Capitolinus
consecrated.*

After the departure of Porfena, the Romans first rewarded those who had distinguished themselves during the siege, especially Mucius Scaevola, to whom they gave a large piece of ground belonging to the public. Their next care was to shew their gratitude to the gods, by some public act of religion; and as the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had not yet been consecrated, the senate ordered this ceremony to be performed. It naturally belonged to one of the consuls to act on this occasion; but it was the right of the senate to appoint which of the consuls should officiate. The patricians had been long jealous of the glory which Poplicola had acquired in his three consulships; they therefore, in order to deprive him of this mark of distinction, ordered him to march out against some Latin troops, that committed ravages in the Roman territory; and, in his absence, appointed his colleague, Horatius Pulvillus, to perform the ceremony. As he was beginning the consecration, Poplicola's brother, Marcus, exclaimed, "I give you notice, that your son has lost his life in a battle." This information was false; but he hoped by these words to interrupt the ceremony. Horatius, however, without shewing the least concern, coldly replied, "Then let him be buried;" and finished the consecration ². Spurius Lartius and T. Herminius, who had so valiantly defended the bridge, were chosen consuls for the next year, which proved a year of peace.

*The Sa-
lines twice
defeated.*

In the consulship of M. Valerius, brother to Poplicola, and P. Posthumius, who succeeded the above mentioned

¹ Dion. Hal. p. 303. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 14. & Plut. *ibid.* ² Plut. in Poplic.

consuls,

consuls, the Sabines, invading the Roman territories, committed great devastations. In consequence of this invasion, the two consuls took the field; and having divided their forces into two bodies, Posthumius, with one of them, encamped at a small distance from Rome, to prevent a surprize from the Tarquins, while Valerius posted himself at Tibur upon the Anio. As the Sabines were encamped on the opposite bank, Valerius, by the advice of his brother Poplicola, crossing the river, offered them battle; which they not declining, a bloody engagement ensued, wherein Valerius gained some advantage with his right; but his left being almost pushed into the river, he was very near losing the battle, when his colleague, who had notice of the action, coming seasonably to his relief, attacked the enemy in flank, and put them to flight. The Sabine troops would have been entirely cut off, if the darkness had not given them an opportunity to escape. For this victory the consuls were decreed a triumph, and they both entered Rome in the same chariot. Valerius is said to have gained, in the course of the same year, a second victory over the Sabines, and to have killed thirteen thousand of them, without the loss of one Roman. The republic, therefore, as a reward for his merit, built a house for him; and, to distinguish it from all others, ordered the door to be so hung, as to open outwards to the street; whereas the doors of all other houses opened inwards. As for Posthumius, he was allowed to have a burial-place for himself and his family, within the walls of Rome; a privilege never before granted to any citizen.

In the course of the next year, when Poplicola was consul the fourth time, the Sabines renewed the war. Aëtius Clausus, the most eminent man in Sabinia for riches, valour, and eloquence, first retarded their preparations, by speaking, in all their diets, against a war with Rome; and then came over to the Romans, with five thousand families of his friends and dependents. On his arrival at Rome, he changed his name to Appius Claudius, was immediately declared a patrician, and took his place in the senate. Twenty-five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city assigned for his friends and followers; to each of whom were granted two acres of ground, with all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. These donations were made irrevocable by a de-

Yr. of FL.
1847.
Ante Chr.
501.
U. C. 247.

Appius
Claudius
settles at
Rome.

• Plut. in Poplic. Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 15.

cree of the senate, confirmed by the suffrages of the people. The house of the Claudii became afterwards one of the most illustrious families of Rome¹.

*The Sabines
deserted
again.*

The Sabines, enraged at the departure of Clausus, took the field with a very considerable army; and it was very lucky for Rome, that they determined to hazard a battle before the year of Poplicola's consulship was expired. The Sabine army was divided into two bodies, one of which encamped in the open field near Fidenæ; the other kept within the walls of that city, to guard it, and secure a retreat to the former body, in case they should be defeated. On the other hand, the consuls having likewise divided their army into two bodies, marched out against the enemy. Poplicola took post opposite the Sabines; while Lucretius, the other consul, encamped on an eminence at a small distance from his colleague. The Romans were eager to engage immediately, and end the dispute at once by a decisive battle; but the Sabines, not daring to venture an engagement in the day-time, resolved to make a sudden attack on the enemy's camp in the night. With this view they prepared great quantities of fascines to fill up the ditch, and scaling-ladders to mount the ramparts. That body of Sabines, which guarded Fidenæ, was ordered to march out of the town on the first signal, and, fetching a large compass, to lie in ambush behind Lucretius's camp, in order to surprise it, when he should march to the assistance of his colleague, and then charge him in the rear. But Poplicola, receiving timely intelligence of the enemy's designs, instantly dispatched his brother Marcus to the other camp, to acquaint Lucretius with the night-expedition resolved upon by the Sabines. Both consuls, having taken the necessary precautions, waited for the enemy, without suffering their troops to shew any marks of suspecting their intentions. The Sabines marched silently out of their camp before midnight, and drawing near the Roman entrenchments, filled up the ditch with fascines, and passed over to scale the rampart; but as they advanced to it, they were, without any noise, stabbed by the Romans, who were drawn up in the space between the ditch and the rampart. The slaughter continued till the moon rose, when the Sabines discovering the dead bodies of their companions, and the Roman troops, who had strewed the ground with them without being perceived, immediately fled. The

¹ Liv. lib. ii. cap. 16.

Romans pursued them with loud shouts; which being heard by Lucretius, he, in his turn, attacked the body that lay in ambush, and gained a complete victory over them. In this action thirteen thousand Sabines were killed on the spot, and four thousand two hundred taken prisoners.

Poplicola, taking advantage of the enemy's consternation, advanced with all his forces to Fidene; and having taken the place by assault, put to death the heads of the revolt; but spared the other inhabitants, obliging them only to surrender part of their lands for the support of the garrison he left in the city. On his return to Rome, he was honoured with a triumph; but soon after died, and was buried at the expence of the public, as there was not found in his house money enough to defray the charges of his funeral. He was the most virtuous citizen, the greatest general, and the best affected consul to the people that Rome had ever produced. He had taken more care to transmit his virtues to his children, than to enrich them with the goods of fortune. The Romans thought they could not refuse him a burial-place in the city; and therefore erected a tomb for him near the forum, and gave his family a right of interment in the same place. But as the Valerii always affected popularity, they never made use of this privilege, but contented themselves with carrying the bodies of those who died in Rome to the sepulchre of the founder of their family, and conveying them from thence out of the city, where the ashes were deposited in a tomb near the walls. As Poplicola had been one of those who exerted himself in defence of the chastity of the Roman women, they mourned a whole year for him, as they had mourned before for Brutus. But his greatest glory was comprised under the name of Poplicola (G), which he acquired from his tender regard for the people^u.

The Sabines were no sooner informed of Poplicola's death, than they raised a more numerous army than they

Fidene taken by the Romans.

Poplicola dies.

His character.

The Sabines renew the war.

^u Dion. Halic. lib. v. p. 314. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 16. Plutarch in Poplic. p. 109.

(G) In some editions of the Latin historians we read *Publicola* instead of *Poplicola*; but the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Plutarch*, and *Dio*, call him constantly *Poplicola*, which is an abbreviation of *Populicola*, a word denoting his regard for the people.

had levied in preceding years ; and, having made a sudden incursion into the Roman territory, advanced to the very gates of Rome. P. Posthumius, who was then consul with Menenius Agrippa, being provoked at the insolence of the Sabines, sallied out against them with a large body of men, drawn together in a tumultuous manner. The Sabines, as soon as he appeared, fled to a neighbouring forest, where the main body of their army lay concealed. Posthumius followed them ; but as he drew near the forest, the Sabines rallying, faced about, and with loud shouts gave the signal to the whole army to fall upon the consul's troops. Posthumius made an obstinate resistance ; but his men being much fatigued, and in disorder, he was obliged to retire with great loss. To complete his misfortune, he was intercepted in his retreat by a body of Sabines, posted on a hill between him and the city ; so that he was forced to pass the night in the open field, surrounded on all sides by the enemy's troops. As soon as the defeat of Posthumius was known at Rome, Menenius Agrippa, the other consul, marched at the head of the bravest youth in the city, to the relief of his colleague. But the Sabines, at his approach, retired into their own country ; whence, elated with their late success, they sent an insolent message to the Romans, requiring them to receive the king they had banished ; and to submit to the Sabines, by whom they had been conquered. To this demand the Romans returned a suitable answer, commanding the Sabines to return to their former duty ; and to come, in a suppliant manner, to beg pardon for their attempts against the authority of their masters. After these mutual bravadoes, the consuls on one side, and the Sabines on the other, took the field again with all the forces of their respective states. Both armies encamped near Eretum, about ten miles from Rome, where they soon came to a general engagement, in which Posthumius, desirous to redeem his credit, behaved with extraordinary valour, and, together with his colleague, obtained a complete victory. No sooner did the news reach the senate, than they decreed a full triumph for Menenius, and an ovation (H) for Posthumius, whose gallant behaviour, in the late

The Romans gain a complete victory over them.

(H) Authors differ in their opinions as to the derivation of this word : some derive it from *evan*, or *evor*, with which the Greek *bacchanterion*. Plutarch

late action, had not, in the opinion of the fathers, sufficiently atoned for his miscarriage in the beginning of the war ^w.

The Sabine war continued under the new consuls, Sp. Cassius Uscellinus, and Opiter Virginius Tricostus. The former, entering the enemy's country, defeated them in a pitched battle near Cures, ten thousand three hundred of them being killed, and four thousand taken prisoners. This defeat obliged them to sue for peace, which, after many submissions, they purchased with corn, money, and ten thousand acres of arable land. While Cassius was thus employed against the Sabines, his colleague Virginius reduced Cameria, a city in the neighbourhood of Alba, which had revolted from the Romans. Having beheaded the most guilty of the inhabitants, he sold the rest for slaves, and razed the city ^x.

They submit at last.

In the following consulship of Posthumus Cominius, and T. Lartius, Tarquin, still restless, and not yet despairing of recovering his kingdom by means of his son-in-law Mamilius Octavius, prevailed upon the Latins, who had hitherto stood neuter, to espouse his cause. During the alarm which this resolution occasioned at Rome, the Tarquins, in concert with some of the inhabitants of Fidenæ, made themselves masters of that city. Upon advice of this event, Manius Tullius, who was raised this year to the consulship, with Servius Sulpitius, marching against the rebels, closely invested the place, and reduced it to great straits. The besieged, in that extremity, implored the assistance of the

The Latins declare for king Tarquin.

^w Dion. Hal. ubi supra.

^x Liv. lib. ii. cap. 17.

tarch refers the origin of this word to the kind of victim, which was offered to the gods in the ceremony of the ovation; for, in the triumph, a bull was sacrificed in the Capitol, but in the ovation only a sheep; so that, according to this writer, ovatio comes from the word *ovis*, signifying a sheep. The person who was honoured with an ovation, entered Rome on foot, or on horseback, and was attended by the senate only: his crown was of myrtle, not of laurel; and his robe only the

prætecta, the common habit of magistrates. The ovation of Posthumius, the first that had been ever seen in Rome, is marked in the Fasti Capitolini, on the third of the nones of April. Two days after, Menenius Agrippa appeared with all the magnificence of a triumph; being mounted on a chariot, seated in a curule chair, clothed with a robe embroidered with palm-branches, he was conducted to the Capitol with the sound of trumpets, and the acclamations of the army and people.

Latins;

*but before
they take
the field
they send
an embassy
to Rome.*

*A conspi-
racy form-
ed by some
of Tar-
quin's
emissaries.*

Latins; and this solicitation occasioned a general meeting of the deputies from the several cities of Latium. In this assembly it was debated, whether the Latins should declare in favour of the Tarquins and the Fidenates, or adhere to the ancient treatie between the two nations. After long debates, it was resolved, that an embassy should be sent to the Romans with propoals, that they should receive the Tarquins, after they had engaged by oath to grant a general amnesty; and that they should raise the siege of Fidenæ. The ambassadors were directed to allow the Romans a whole year to consider of these overtures; and to threaten them with a war, in case they refused to comply with them. The chief view of Tarquin, and his partisans in promoting this embassy, was to take that opportunity to raise a sedition in the city. To this the ambassadors, therefore, of the Latins he joined some of his own emissaries, who, on their arrival in Rome, found two sorts of people disposed to enter into their measures; namely, the slaves, and the meaner citizens.

The slaves had formed a conspiracy the year before to seize the Capitol, and set fire to the city, in several quarters, at the same time. But the plot being discovered, those who were concerned in it had been all crucified; and this execution had highly provoked their whole body. As for the meaner citizens, who were for the most part overwhelmed with debt, and cruelly used by their creditors, they knew that no change could happen in the government but to their advantage. These were the conspirators pitched upon; and to them were assigned the following parts to act: the citizens were to make themselves masters of the ramparts and gates of the city, at an appointed hour of the night, and then to raise a great shout as a signal to the slaves, who had engaged to massacre their masters at the same instant: the gates of the city were then to be opened to the Tarquins, who were to enter Rome while it was yet reeking with the blood of the senators. The conspiracy was ripe for execution, when Tarquin's principal agents, Publius and Marcus, both of his own name and family, were so terrified with frightful dreams, that they had not courage enough to proceed in their design till they had consulted a diviner. However, they did not discover to him the conspiracy; but only asked him in general terms, what success they might expect in a project they had formed. The soothsayer, without the least hesitation, returned the following answer: "Your project will end in your ruin; disburden
your-

yourselfes of so heavy a load." Thus exhorted, the Tarquins went immediately to S. Sulpitius, the only consul then at Rome, and discovered the whole design. The consul greatly commended them, and detained them in his house, till, by private enquiries, he was assured of the truth of their information. Then he assembled the senate, and gave the Latin ambassadors their audience of leave, then answer to their proposals; which was, that the Romans would neither receive the Tarquins, nor raise the siege of Fidenæ, being all, to a man, ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their liberty, and willing to undergo any dangers, rather than submit to the government of the Tarquins.

The plot discovered;

The ambassadors limited with this answer, and conducted out of the city, Sulpitius laid open to the senate the dreadful conspiracy, which struck them with astonishment; but they were all at a loss in what manner they could apprehend and punish the guilty, since, by the law of Poplicæ, there was an appeal to the people in all capital cases; and the two witnesses, who were strangers, might be exempted against by Roman citizens. In this perplexity, they left the whole conduct of this critical affair to Lucius Junius, who took a method which he thought would equally serve to prove the guilt and punish the conspirators. He engaged the two informers to assemble the conspirators, and to appoint a rendezvous at midnight in the forum, as if they designed to take the last measures for the execution of their enterprize. In the mean time he used all proper means to secure the city, and ordered the Roman knights to hold themselves ready, in the houses adjoining to the forum, to execute the orders they should receive. The conspirators met at the time and place appointed by the two Tarquins: the knights, upon a signal agreed on before-hand, invested the forum, and blocked up all the avenues to it so closely, that it was impossible for any of the conspirators to make their escape. As soon as it was light the two consuls appeared, with a strong guard, on the tribunal; for Sulpitius had sent to his colleague, Manius, who was besieging Fidenæ, desiring him to hasten to the city with a chosen body of troops. The people were convened by curiæ, and acquainted with the conspiracy which had been formed against the common liberty. The accused were allowed to make their defence, if they had any thing to offer against the evidence; but not one of them denying the fact, the consuls repaired to

and laid open to the senate.

the

the senate, where sentence of death was pronounced against the conspirators, in case the people should approve this decision.

*The con-
spirators
put to
death.*

This decree of the senate being recited, and approved by the assembly, the people were ordered to retire; and the conspirators were delivered up to the soldiers, who put them all to the sword. The peace of Rome was thought sufficiently secured by this stroke of severity; and therefore, though all the conspirators were not punished with death, it was judged proper not to make any farther enquiries. The two informers were rewarded with all the privileges of Roman citizens, a hundred thousand ases, and twenty acres of land. Three festival-days were appointed for expiations, sacrifices, and public games, by way of thanksgiving to the gods. But the general joy was disturbed by a melancholy accident; as the people were conducting Manius Tullius, the consul, from the circus to his house, he fell from his chariot, and died in three days of the bruises occasioned by the fall.

Yr. of Fl.
1853.
Ante Chr.
495.
U. C. 253.

*Fidenæ
taken.*

*The Latin
cities enter
into an al-
liance a-
gainst
Rome.*

*The poorer
citizens re-
fuse to
serve.*

The city of Fidenæ was not yet reduced; it held out during the following consulship of T. Æbutius and P. Ve-
turius; but was taken the next year by T. Lartius, who, together with Q. Clælius, was raised to the consular dig-
nity. The Latins, enraged at the loss of this town, began to complain of their leading men; which opportunity Tarquin and Mamilius improved so far, as to induce all the Latin cities, twenty-four in number, to enter into an alliance against Rome, and to bind themselves by oath never to violate their engagements. The Latins made great preparations, as did likewise the Romans; but the latter could procure no assistance from their neighbours. The Latin nation being much superior to them in strength, they sent deputies to solicit succours from the several states with which they were surrounded; but their negotiations proved every-where unsuccessful; and the republic had rebellious sons in her own bosom, who refused to lend their aid in defence of their country. The poorer sort of people, and the debtors, refused to take the military oaths, or to serve, alleging their poverty, and the fruitless hazards they underwent in fighting for the defence of a city, where they were oppressed and enslaved by their creditors. This spirit of mutiny diffused itself among the inferior classes, most of them refusing to enlist

themselves, unless their debts were all remitted by a decree of the senate; they even began to talk of leaving the city and settling elsewhere.

The senate, apprehending a general insurrection, assembled to deliberate on the means of quieting these domestic troubles. Some proposed a free remission of all debts, as the safest expedient at that juncture; others urged the dangerous consequences of such a condescension, advising them to enlist such only as were willing to serve, not doubting but those who refused their assistance would offer it voluntarily when it was no longer desired. Several other expedients were proposed; but at length they agreed, that all actions for debt should be suspended till the conclusion of the war with the Latins. But this indulgence the indigent debtors thought only a suspension of their misery; and therefore it had not the intended effect on the minds of the unruly multitude. The senate might indeed have prosecuted the ringleaders of the sedition; but the law of Poplicola, called the Valerian law, which allowed appeals to the assembly of the people, was a protection for the seditious, who were sure of being acquitted by the accomplices of their rebellion. The senate, therefore, to elude the effect of a privilege that put such a restraint upon their authority, resolved to create one supreme magistrate, who, with the title of dictator, should have an absolute power for a time: but as this step could not be taken without striking at the law of Poplicola, and transferring the power of the people, in criminal cases, to a magistrate superior to all laws, it was necessary to use artifice, in order to obtain the consent of the curiæ. The senators, therefore, represented to them, in a public assembly, that, in so difficult a conjuncture, when they had their domestic quarrels to decide, and, at the same time, a powerful enemy to repulse, it would be expedient to put the commonwealth under a single governor, who, superior to the consuls themselves, should be the arbiter of the laws, and, as it were, the father of his country; that his power should have no limits; but however, lest he should abuse it, they should not trust him with it above six months.

*The senate
endeavour
to appease
the people.*

*Judge it
necessary to
create a
dictator.*

The people, not foreseeing the consequences of this change, agreed to it; but the greatest difficulty was to find a man duly qualified, in all respects, for so great a trust. T. Lartius, one of the consuls, seemed to be of all men the most unexceptionable; but the senate, fearing to offend his colleague by an invidious preference, gave the consuls

*The people
agree to the
proposal.*

*The first
dictator.*

consuls the power of choosing a dictator, and obliged them to name one, not doubting that Clælius would yield to the superior talents of his colleague; nor were they disappointed in their expectation. But Lartius, with the same readiness, named Clælius; and the only contest was, which of the two should raise the other to the supreme authority. Each persisted obstinately in remitting the dignity to his colleague, till Clælius, starting up on a sudden, abdicated the consulship, and, after the manner of an interrex, proclaimed Titus Lartius dictator (I), who thereupon was obliged to take upon him the government of the republic ^z.

Lartius assumed as much state, after he had entered upon his office, as he had shewn modesty in refusing it. He began by creating, without the participation either of the senate or people, a general of the Roman horse (K),

^z Liv. lib. ii. cap. 18. Dion. Hal. ubi supra.

(I) This supreme officer was called dictator, either because he was *dictus*, that is, *named by the consul*, or from his dictating and commanding what should be done. No one could be created dictator till he had been consul. The time assigned for the duration of the office was the space of six months. The dictator was not allowed to march out of Italy, lest he should take advantage of the distance of the place, to attempt something against the common liberty. He was always to march on foot, except in case of a tedious or sudden expedition; and then he formally asked leave of the people to ride (1). In all other things his power was absolute and uncontrolled. He might proclaim war, levy forces, lead them out, disband them, &c. without consulting the senate. He could punish as he pleased;

and from his judgement lay no appeal. To make his authority more awful, he had always twenty-four fasces with axes carried before him. The authority of all other magistrates ceased, or were subordinate to him. When his authority was expired, he was not obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his administration (2).

(K) As the regal power was revived in the dictator, he was allowed to create a chief officer in the army, under the name of *magister equitum*, that is, *master or general of the horse*, which answered to the office of the *tribunus celerum* in the time of the kings. It was the second dignity in the Roman state, but, like the dictatorship, temporary. The *magister equitum* served as the dictator's lieutenant-general, but subject to his express order.

(1) Dio. lib. xlv. Appian. lib. iii. Max. Polyb. lib. iii.

(2) Plut. in Fab.

an office which lasted only during the dictatorship, and which all subsequent dictators revived immediately after their election. Sp. Cassius, formerly consul, and honoured with a triumph, was the person he advanced to this second station in the republic ^a. Lartius, having by these means secured the Roman knights, resolved, in the next place, to make the people respect and fear him. With this view he never appeared in public, but attended by twenty-four lictors, to whose fasces he again added the axes, which Poplicola had removed. The novelty of this sight was alone sufficient to awe the seditious, and, without executions, to spread consternation throughout Rome. The murmurs of the inferior classes being thus silenced, the dictator commanded a census to be taken, according to the institution of king Servius. Every one, without exception, brought in his name and age, with the particulars of his estate; and there appeared to be in Rome one hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred men, who were past the age of puberty. Out of these the dictator formed four armies; the first he commanded himself; the second he gave to Clælius his late colleague; the third to Sp. Cassius his general of the horse; and the fourth he left in Rome, under the command of his brother Sp. Lartius, to guard the city. The Latins were not so forward in their preparations. All their hostilities against Rome this year amounted to no more than the sending a detachment into the Roman territory to lay it waste. The dictator gained some advantage over that party; and the great humanity with which he treated the prisoners and wounded, disposed the Latins to listen the more readily to the overtures which he at the same time made them for a suspension of hostilities. At length a truce was agreed on for a year; and then Lartius, seeing the republic restored to its former tranquility, resigned the dictatorship, though the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired ^b.

The dictator commands a census to be taken.

A truce is made with the Latins for a year.

The following consulship of Sempronius Atratinus, and Minutius Augurinus, produced nothing memorable. But next year the truce expired, when Aulus Posthumius and T. Virginus took possession of the consulship. Both Romans and Latins were busied in making the necessary preparations for war. The nobility of Latium, who were for the most part in the interest of the Tarquins, having found means to exclude the citizens from the Latin diets, car-

^a Liv. *ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 18.

^b Dion. Hal. Liv. *ibid.*

A new dictator created

ried all before them in those assemblies; so that many of the citizens removed with their families to Rome, where they were well received. The Latins being determined upon war, the senate, notwithstanding the harmony that reigned between them and the people, thought it expedient to create a dictator. The two consuls being empowered to name one of themselves to that dignity, Virginius readily yielded it to his colleague Posthumius, as the more able commander. The new dictator, having created Æbutius Elva his general of the horse, and divided his army into four bodies, left one of them, under the command of Sempronius, to guard the city, and with the other three, commanded by himself, Virginius, and Æbutius, marched against the Latins, who, with an army of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, commanded by Sextus Tarquinius, Titus Tarquinius, and Manilius, had already made themselves masters of Corbio, a strong place belonging to the republic, and put the garrison to the sword. Posthumius encamped in the night on a steep hill near the lake Regillus, and Virginius occupied another hill opposite to him. Æbutius was ordered to march silently in the night, with the cavalry and light-armed infantry, to take possession of a third hill upon the road, by which alone provisions could be brought to the Latins.

Part of the Roman army vigorously attacked by Lucius Tarquinius.

Before Æbutius had fortified his new camp, he was vigorously attacked by Lucius Tarquinius, whom he repulsed three times with great loss, the dictator having sent him a timely reinforcement. After this attack Æbutius intercepted two couriers sent by the Volsci to the Latin generals, and, by letters found upon them, discovered, that a considerable army of the Volsci and Hernici were to join the Latin forces in three days. Upon this intelligence, Posthumius drew his three bodies of troops together, amounting in all to no more than twenty-four thousand foot, and one thousand horse, with a design to engage the enemy before the arrival of the succours they expected. Accordingly he encouraged his men, and with his army in battle array, advanced to the place where the enemy was encamped. The Latins, who were much superior to the Romans in number, and besides began to want provisions, did not decline the engagement. Titus Tarquinius, at the head of the Roman exiles and deserters, was in the centre, Mamilius in the right wing, and Sextus Tarquinius in the left. In the Roman army the dictator commanded in the centre, Æbutius in the left wing, and Virginius in the right.

The

The first body which advanced was that of the dictator; and, as soon as it began to march, T. Tarquinius, singling him out, ran full speed against him. The dictator did not decline the encounter, but, flying at his adversary, wounded him with a javelin in the right side. The first line of the Latins advanced to cover their general; but he being carried out of the field, they made but a faint resistance when charged by the troops of the dictator. They were destitute of a leader, and began to retire, when Sextus Tarquinius, taking the place of his brother, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that the victory in the centre was still doubtful. On the side of Mamilius and Æbutius, both parties, encouraged by the example of their leaders, fought with incredible bravery and resolution. After a long and bloody contest, the two generals agreed to determine the doubtful victory by a single combat. Accordingly the two champions pushed on their horses against each other. Æbutius with his lance wounded Mamilius in the breast; and Mamilius with his sword disabled Æbutius in the right arm. Neither of the wounds were mortal; but both generals falling from their horses, put an end to the combat. Marcus Valerius, the brother of Poplicola, supplying the place of Æbutius, endeavoured, at the head of the Roman horse, to break the enemy's battalions; but was repulsed by the cavalry of the Roman deserters. At the same time Mamilius appeared again in the van, with a considerable body of horse and light-armed infantry. Valerius, with the assistance of his two nephews, the sons of Poplicola, and a chosen troop of volunteers, attempted to break through the Latin battalions, in order to engage Mamilius; but, being surrounded by the Roman exiles, he received a mortal wound in his side, fell from his horse, and died. The body was carried off by the two sons of Poplicola, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the exiles, and delivered to Valerius's servants, who conveyed it to the Roman camp; but the young heroes being afterwards invested on all sides, and overpowered by numbers, were both killed on the spot. Upon their death, the left wing of the Romans began to give ground, but were soon brought back by Posthumius, who, with a body of Roman knights, flying to their assistance, charged the exiles with such fury, that they were, after an obstinate resistance, obliged to give way, and retire in confusion. In the mean time Titus Horminius, one of the dictator's lieutenants, having rallied those who had fled, fell upon

The battle of Regillus.

Poplicola's brother killed;

and his two sons

some close battalions of the enemy's right wing, which still kept their ground under the command of Mamilius, killed him with his own hand, and put that body to flight. But while he was busy in stripping the body of his enemy, he received a wound, of which he died soon after.

*Sextus
Tarqui-
nius killed.*

*The Latins
defeated,
and their
camp
taken.*

Sextus Tarquinius in the mean time maintained the fight with great bravery, at the head of the left wing, against the consul Virginius; and had even broke through the right wing of the Roman army, when the dictator attacked him unexpectedly with his victorious squadrons. Then Sextus, having lost at once all hopes of victory, threw himself, like one in despair, into the midst of the Roman knights, and there sunk under a multitude of wounds, after he had distinguished himself by surprising acts of valour. The death of the three generals was followed by the entire defeat of the Latin army. Their camp was taken and plundered, and most of their troops were cut in pieces; for of the forty-three thousand men who came into the field, not more than ten thousand returned home. Next morning the Volsci and Hernici came, according to their agreement, to assist the Latins; but finding how the battle had ended, some of them were inclined to fall upon the Romans before they could recover from the fatigue of the preceding day; but others thought it more prudent to send ambassadors to the dictator, to congratulate him on his victory, and assure him that they had left their own country with no other design than to assist Rome in so dangerous a war. Posthumus, by producing their couriers and letters, gave them to understand, that he was acquainted with their designs, and treacherous proceedings. However, out of a regard to the law of nations, he sent them back unhurt, with a challenge to their generals to fight next day: but the Volsci, and their confederates, not caring to engage a victorious army, decamped in the night, and returned to their respective countries.

Yr. of Fl.
1855.
Ante Chr.
493.
U. C. 255.

*The whole
Latin na-
tion sub-
mits.*

The Latins, having now no remedy but an entire submission, sent ambassadors to solicit a peace at Rome, yielding themselves absolutely to the judgement of the senate. As Rome had long since made it a maxim to spare the nations which submitted, the motion of Titus Lartius, the late dictator, prevailed; and the ancient treaties with the Latins were renewed, on condition, however, that they restored the prisoners they had taken, delivered up

the deserters, and expelled the Roman exiles from Latium. Thus ended the last war which the Romans waged with their neighbours on account of their banished king, who, being now abandoned by the Latins, Hetrurians, and Sabines, retired into Campania, to Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumæ, and there died, in the ninetyeth year of his age, and fourteenth of his exile ^d. *Tarquin dies.*

The freedom which the Romans recovered by the expulsion of Tarquin, being now secured to them by the death of that prince, who was the last of his family, and the Latin war ended, greatly to the advantage of the republic, Posthumius laid down his office; the courts of justice were again opened; and the creditors began to prosecute their debtors (L) with more rigour than ever; which

^d Cic. Tusc. lib. iii. n. 27.

(L.) When the debtor was insolvent, the creditor had a right to put him in irons, or to sell him as a slave. After a certain number of citations, the law granted to the debtor thirty days of grace, to raise the sum for which he was accountable. The words of the law are: "*Æris confessi, rebusque jure judicatis, triginti dies justi sunt. Post dein manum endojacito — Vincito aut nervo, aut compedibus.*" "When the debt is confessed, and the trial passed, let there be thirty days of forbearance. Afterwards lay hands on him— Bind him either with a cord, or fetters." After the thirty days were expired, if the debtor had not discharged the debt, he was led to the prætor, who delivered him over to the mercy of his creditors. These bound him, and kept him in chains for the space of sixty days. Afterwards, for three market-days successively, the debtor was brought to the tribunal of the prætor: then a public crier proclaimed in the

forum the debt for which the prisoner was detained. It often happened, that rich persons redeemed the prisoner, by paying his debts; but if no body appeared in behalf of the debtor, after the third market-day, the creditor had a right to inflict the punishments appointed by the law. "*Tertiis nundinis capite pænas dato, aut trans Tiberim peregre venunduito;*" that is, "Let him, on the third market-day, be punished with death, or sold beyond the Tiber as a slave." If there were several creditors, they were allowed, in consequence of this severe law, to divide the body of the prisoner into several parts, and share it among them, in proportion to the sum they demanded: but, according to Quintilian and Cæcilius, humanity and custom had given prescription against so barbarous a law, which was never put in execution. This punishment was changed to coercion; that is, the creditors had a right to imprison their debtors

*Domestic
broils at
Rome.*

*The Volsci,
encouraged
by the civil
feuds, ad-
vance to-
wards
Rome.*

*The ple-
beians re-
fuse to in-
list them-
selves.*

which revived the complaints and murmurs among the inferior classes. To prevent the disturbances which these might occasion, the senate procured the consulship for Appius Claudius, who had ever opposed, with great warmth, the pretensions of the people; but, lest he should exert too great severity, they gave him for his colleague P. Servilius, a man of gentle and humane temper, greatly beloved by the people. The latter exhorted the senate, as soon as he entered upon his office, to ease the people, and restrain the severity of the creditors; but Appius maintained, that it was a manifest injustice to relieve the debtors at the expence of the creditors. The senate assembled daily, in order to settle the tranquility of the city upon a lasting foundation; but met with so many difficulties, the consuls being of different opinions, that they could never come to any conclusion. In the mean time, the oppressed populace held secret assemblies in the night, and seemed disposed to rise up in arms; so that the senate began to apprehend nothing less than a civil war. In the midst of these disturbances, the Volsci, who were well acquainted with the present state of the city, having drawn together a body of forces, advanced towards Rome, promising themselves great advantages from the domestic disorders, and universal confusion, which reigned in the city. It was therefore necessary for the consuls to raise an army; but the Roman youth absolutely refused to serve. This disobedience occasioned new disputes between the consuls, Claudius being inclined to severity, and Servilius to moderation. As the time drew near for taking the field against the Volsci, the senate decreed, that Servilius should command the army, and Claudius govern the city. But though Servilius was looked upon as a friend to the people, yet they refused to enlist themselves, unless the senate came first to some determination about the important affair of debts. Servilius was therefore obliged to march against the enemy with such only as offered to serve from a personal affection to him. The Volsci, depending on the civil broils at Rome, had not been so expeditious in their preparations

debtors in their own houses, and make them slaves. These were called nexi, and not servi, because their slavery lasted no longer than till their debts were paid. This coercion was afterwards changed into pub-

lic imprisonment, which was a less rigorous punishment than the slavery the debtors underwent in the creditors houses, where they were often cruelly treated, and whipped unmercifully.

for

for the war, as to be in a condition to oppose a Roman army in the field; and therefore they had recourse to intreaties, by which they prevailed upon the good-natured consul to favour them, and grant them a peace, upon condition that they supplied his troops with cloaths and provisions, and delivered to him three hundred hostages of the best families ^c.

The Volsci sue for peace, which is granted

Not long after the return of Servilius, the senate was informed from Latium, that the Volsci were making new preparations for war; that they had engaged the Hernici and Sabines to join them against Rome, and sent deputies to their nation for the same purpose. These deputies the Latin ambassadors brought with them, and delivered them up to the senate. Such a treacherous method of proceeding in the Volsci, after they had been so kindly treated by the consul Servilius, incensed the senate, and war was immediately declared; but while the senators were sitting, a plebeian, loaded with chains, appeared in the forum. He was advanced in years, tall of stature, lean, pale, with his eyes sunk in his head, a long beard, and his hair in disorder. The people looked on him with great attention, till at length several knew him, and remembered to have served with him in the wars, and to have seen him fight in the first ranks of the legions with great valour. His appearance raised the compassion of the multitude; but when they heard him gave an account of his misfortunes, they were filled with rage and indignation. He told them, that he was born free; that he had, in twenty-eight battles, exposed his life for the good of his country; that, in the last war with the Sabines, he not only had been hindered from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incursion, after having plundered his house, had set it on fire; that the necessities of life, and the tributes, which, notwithstanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that the interest being grown, by degrees, to an excessive sum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to discharge part of it; but that the merciless creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to prison, with two of his children; that, to oblige him to hasten the payment of the residue, he had delivered him over to his slaves, who, by his order, had scourged him with the utmost barbarity. At the same time he flung off his garment, and discovered

War declared anew against the Volsci.

^c Dion. Hal. p. 361—367. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 22—26.

his back still bloody, and, on his breast, the scars of the honourable wounds which he had received in fighting for his country.

*The people
incensed
against
the senate.*

At this affecting spectacle, the people, already ripe for sedition, uttered a thousand execrations against the patri-
cians, and made such outcries, as terrified the senate, who were then sitting. The people flocked from all quarters into the forum; the artificers left their shops; and those who were confined for debt, having found means to escape from their creditors, with the squalid figure they made in their tattered cloaths, and the noise of their chains, raised both pity and indignation. These unhappy wretches spread themselves all over the city; and, if any one offered to stop them, he was immediately massacred by the enraged multitude. The consul Appius, seeing that the fury of the mutineers was like to fall upon him, left the senate, and, by favour of the tumult, reached his own house in safety. Servilius, having pulled off his robe, that he might be more agreeable to the people, ran into the thickest of the crowd; and, though he embraced some, threw himself at the feet of others, and shewed great compassion for all, yet he could not prevail upon them to suspend acts of violence for that day, till he had promised that the senate should have regard to their complaints; nay, he went farther, and proclaimed, by a herald, that no one should molest any Roman citizen for debt, till the senate had decreed otherwise ^f.

*Servilius
appeases
the tumult.*

*The consuls
quarrel.*

Next day the forum was filled, both with citizens and country people, brought thither by their common interest. The senate assembled; and Servilius laid before them the absolute necessity, in such a conjuncture, of abating the severity of the laws. On the other hand, Appius pretended, that this project tended to the ruin of the subordination necessary in a well-governed state; and that the condescension which Servilius was for shewing to the necessities of the people, would be looked upon by the seditions only as a disguised weakness, and so breed new pretensions. As Appius could not bear contradiction, his speech was tinged with the harshness of his manners: he even descended to personal reflections, and represented his colleague as a vile flatterer of the plebeians, and a favourer of the revolt. Servilius, in his turn, reproached him with the obstinacy of his temper, his pride, and an-
gry

^f *Iidem ibid.*

mosity to the people. The senators were divided between these two great men; so that there was no end of their disputes. In the mean time, the people expected with impatience a decree in their favour; and there not being a sufficient number of senators assembled for that purpose, they imputed their absence to the management of the consuls, in order to frustrate their hopes. While the people were yet in the forum, they saw some horsemen come full speed to acquaint the Romans, that the Volsci were advancing, with a design to besiege Rome. The plebeians were overjoyed to see their country in danger; and when the debtors were invited to take up arms in defence of the common liberty, they shewed the chains with which their creditors had loaded them: "Is it not the same thing to us (said they), whether these shackles are put on us by the enemy, or by our own countrymen? Let the patricians expose their lives, since they alone reap advantage from our victories. Shall we make a rampart with our bodies, only to hinder the enemy from pulling down our prisons, and carrying away our chains?" It was necessary, in this extremity, that something should be done to quell the tumult, and induce the people to lend their assistance against an insulting enemy.

The Volsci advance to besiege Rome.

Appius was obstinate and inflexible; but Servilius was prevailed upon by his friends to make the people such promises in the name of the senate, as the senators were firmly resolved never to perform. He told them, that it was not consistent with the dignity of the senate to comply with their demands, from motives of fear; but that, when the war should be ended, it would, in gratitude, remit all their debts. This promise abated the fury of the populace; and reading a decree, which passed the same day, entirely quelled it. All creditors were thereby forbidden to prosecute any Roman citizen for debt, who was willing to serve; but the creditors were commanded to prosecute all such debtors with the utmost severity, as either should refuse to serve, or desert after they were enrolled. To this wise law Rome owed her preservation; for it was no sooner published, than multitudes crowded to the Capitol, and even made interest to be admitted into the legions. When the levies were completed, Servilius marched to meet the enemy, and encamped near the Pontine lake; where the Volsci, attempting to surprise his camp, were entirely defeated. The consul, to reward his soldiers, gave them all the spoil, that they might be

The consul Servilius engages the people to assist.

Defeats the Volsci,

*and takes
their capi-
tal.*

enabled to pay their debts (M). He then marched to Sueſſa Pometia, the capital of the Volſci, took it by aſſault, and put all to the ſword who were able to bear arms. He gave likewiſe this wealthy city to be plundered by the ſoldiers, without reſerving any part of the ſpoil for the public treaſury. In the mean time Appius, who had been left in Rome, beheaded the three hundred hoſtages, which the Volſci had given to the Romans, upon Servilius's firſt expedition ^g.

*He is re-
fuſed a
triumph;*

So glorious a campaign merited a triumph for the conſul, who returned to the city with hopes of obtaining it; but, on his arrival, he was informed, that his colleague Appius had perſuaded the ſenate to reſuſe him that honour, under pretence that he was a ſeditious man, who aimed at popularity, by an exceſſive indulgence and profuſeneſs to his ſoldiers. Servilius, being ſenſibly affected with the unjuſt proceedings of the ſenate, took a bold ſtep, which afterwards proved a fatal precedent to his country. He no ſooner arrived before the walls of Rome, which none were allowed to enter who demanded a triumph, than he cauſed the people to be called together in a field, and there complained to them, both of the jealouſy of his colleague, and the injuſtice of the ſenate: upon which complaint, the people encouraged him, by their acclamations, to attempt whatever he pleaſed. With regard therefore to the deciſion of the ſenate, he decreed himſelf a triumph, and marched, with the uſual pomp, to the Capitol, followed by his army, and attended by all the people ^h.

*but tri-
umphs in
ſpite of the
ſenate.*

While the populace amused themſelves with public games and rejoicings, on account of the victory over the Volſci, ambaffadors arrived from the Aurunci, demanding, that the Roman garrifon in Ecetra, a Volſcian town, which had lately ſubmitted to Rome, ſhould be removed from thence; and adding threats, in caſe of reſuſal. As Ecetra ſtood on the confines of the country of the Aurunci, they had taken umbrage at the neighbourhood of

^g Dion. Hal. & Liv. *ibid*.

^h *I dem ibid*.

(M) It was cuſtomary, in the beginning of the commonwealth, to divide the ſpoils between the victorious army and the public treaſury. The pro-

duſt of theſe ſpoils was generally applied to the building of temples, the celebrating of public games, or the adorning of the city (1).

(1) Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5,

that garrison. The senate sent the envoys back with this answer; "Go, tell your masters, that it is a dangerous thing to attack those whose very neighbourhood is formidable to them." The Aurunci, provoked at this answer, entered Latium, and advanced as far as Aricia; where they were met by the Roman army, under the command of Servilius, and the famous Posthumius, furnished Regillensis, from the victory he had gained over the Latins at the lake Regillus. The battle that ensued was very bloody; but the Romans, though at first greatly disheartened at the gigantic stature, ferocity, and martial air, of the enemy, gained at length a complete victory, and made themselves masters of the camp of the Aurunci, who retired into their own country¹.

The Aurunci enter Latium.

Are defeated, and their camp taken.

Of all the plebeians, who served in this and in the late war with the Volsci, none behaved with more gallantry than those who were most in debt: the people therefore thought, that, after so many victories, they might demand of the senate the performance of Servilius's promise. But the inflexible Appius seemed to redouble the severity of the judgements he gave against such debtors as were brought before his tribunal: he ordered all those who had been set at liberty during the war to be brought back to their prisons by force. Those who were arrested appealed to Servilius, urging the promises he had made before the campaign, and the services they had done in the war; but Appius having got the ascendant in the senate, Servilius had not interest enough to prevail upon them to fulfil his promise given in their name, or to protect the unhappy debtors: so that he became as much despised as Appius was hated. This contempt appeared very remarkably, when the time came to consecrate a temple, which had been erected to Mercury. The consecrator was to enjoy considerable powers and privileges; and, on this account, the senate, unwilling to disgust either Appius or Servilius, referred the whole matter to the people. The curiæ were therefore assembled, with full power to choose a consecrator; and they, to shew how much they were displeased with both the consuls, bestowed the honour of consecrating the temple on one Lætorius, who was only a centurion. Appius and Servilius, equally enraged at this mark of disrespect, joined with the senate in putting the laws in execution against debtors with the utmost severity; but the people, paying no regard to their

The severity of Appius towards the debtors.

Servilius treated by the people with contempt. Becomes their enemy.

¹ Dion. Hal. & Liv. *ibid.*

authority, when any plebeian was prosecuted for debt, crowded into the forum, and made such a clamour, that the sentence pronounced by the judges could not be heard. They no longer endeavoured to appease their creditors, or mollify the senate by entreaties, but insulted both; so that the patricians, and not the plebeians, were now in danger of imprisonment and slavery^k.

The Sabines revolt; but the people refuse to serve.

In the mean time, the Sabines, encouraged by these intestine broils, revolted, and engaged the Roman colony of Medulia to enter into an alliance with them; which was confirmed by mutual oaths. The new consuls, A. Virginus and T. Veturius, both men of little note, summoned the tribes, in order to raise an army for the war which threatened them; but the people obstinately refused to enlist, till such time as all debts should be cancelled. The consuls, ascending their tribunal, called upon one of the most factious by name to be inrolled. As the man did not answer the summons, he was instantly seized; but the populace rescued him out of the listers hands, and insulted both the consuls and patricians who attended them. While the city was thus rent into factions, and all things seemed to tend to a civil war, envoys arrived from the Latins and Crustumini, complaining of the hostilities of the Æqui and Sabines; and, at the same time, ambassadors came from the Volsci, demanding restitution of the lands which had been taken from them in the late war. These embassies filled the Romans with consternation, or joy, according to the party each had embraced. As it was necessary to give all these deputies proper answers, the senate assembled, and, after long debates, returned the following answer to the ambassadors of the Volsci; "That it was not consistent with the honour of the republic to comply with their demands." As to the Latins and Crustumini, who were in alliance with Rome, they were assured, that the republic would not leave them exposed to the insults of their enemies. With these answers the ambassadors were dismissed; but as Rome could neither protect her allies, nor repulse her enemies, unless peace were first established at home, the senate met again next day, to deliberate upon the methods necessary to restore the public tranquility.

The Volsci threaten a war.

The consul Virginus declared for protecting those debtors who had fought so successfully the last year, and for leaving the others to the severity of the law. Titus

^k Liv. *ibid.*

Lartius, that venerable senator, who had been formerly dictator, pleaded in behalf of all debtors. Appius enumerated all the motives which had engaged him to side with the patricians; declared that he could not change his opinion; urged the dangerous consequences of violating contracts between debtors and creditors; and, in the close of his speech, proposed naming a dictator in the present extremity. This expedient was thought dangerous by some of the oldest senators; but the motion was carried by a majority. Manius Valerius, a man of seventy years of age, brother to the famous Poplicola, was nominated by one of the consuls, contrary to the law, which required, that the dictator should be chosen out of such as had been, or were actually consuls; but as no man was judged more proper for that station at this time, the necessity of the case made the senate overlook this objection. Valerius, as soon as he was proclaimed dictator, named, for his general of the horse, Quintus Servilius, brother to the last year's consul. Finding the minds of the people inclined to his government, he ascended the tribunal, and harangued the multitude, reminding them of the great zeal his family had always shewed for their interest, and desiring their confidence in return. He promised, that if they would lend their assistance, and serve their country at this time, he would procure for them, from the senate, all the reasonable concessions they could expect: "And, in the mean time, (said he), I command that no mention be made of confiscations or imprisonments during my administration." The people, depending on the promises of the dictator, took arms with pleasure, and ten legions were soon raised, three of which were given to each consul, and four reserved for the dictator. Veturius was ordered to march against the Æqui; Virginus against the Volsci; and the dictator himself led his legions against the Sabines. The three generals were all attended with success, and it proved a glorious campaign for the republic. Valerius, on his return, was honoured with a triumph. As a farther mark of distinction, both the senate and the people agreed in allotting him an honourable place in the circus at the celebration of the public games; and appointed that a curule chair should be always placed there for his accommodation; an honour which they made hereditary in his family¹.

Manius Valerius, brother to Poplicola, created dictator,

He prevails with the people to serve.

The Æqui, Volsci, and Sabines defeated.

¹ Dion, Hal. *ibid.* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 30, 31,

*The senate
refuses to
comply
with the
demands of
the dictator
in favour
of the peo-
ple.*

*He excuses
himself to
the people,
and resigns
his dignity.*

Valerius, remembering his promises to the people, demanded of the senate the performance of them; but the patrician usurers had made such a party, during his absence, that the senators not only refused to comply with his demands, but reproached him with the affection of his family for the plebeians, and betraying the interests of the senate. The prudent dictator, to prevent, in some degree, the misfortunes which threatened the republic, sent a colony of poor debtors to Velitræ, which had been just taken from the Volsci; but as there still remained a great number of those unhappy persons, he solicited anew the senate in their favour. His motion being rejected, he told the senators in anger, that perhaps, in a short time, they would wish for such an intercessor with the plebeians; and, leaving the senate abruptly, summoned the people. When the assembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the ensigns of his dignity, and, in the first place, acknowledged his obligations to them; then he made great complaints of the insincere conduct of the senate, with regard to both them and him; and lastly, declared his resolution to retire, or to surrender himself to their discretion, if they suspected that he had betrayed their interest. Having ended his speech, he laid down his employment, and stripped himself of the ensigns of the dictatorship. The people, who had heard him with sentiments of respect and veneration, conducted him to his house with loud acclamations, as if he had procured the abolition of their debts. The senate, to prevent the disorders which they foresaw must attend the abdication of an injured dictator, ordered the two consuls, who still held the soldiers engaged by their oath (N), to lead the army into the field, under pretence that the Æqui and Sabines were making fresh preparations for war. The soldiery, who were apprised of the artifice, went out of Rome with the utmost rage; and, as soon as they were in the field, some of the most seditious proposed the assassinating of the consuls, not out of any per-

(N) The giving the military oath, called *iuramentum*, was, properly speaking, the legal method of forming the Roman armies. After the soldiers had been chosen out of each tribe, this oath was administered to them in the following manner: the tribunes of each legion as-

sembled the bodies they commanded; then one soldier in a legion swore, in the name of all the rest, to obey the commander of the Roman army. After this ceremony, every soldier came, and singly engaged to perform what had been sworn.

sonal hatred, but merely to free themselves from the oath which bound them to their command. Others thought it would be infamous to put an end to the religious engagements they had entered into with the consuls by criminal means, and, on that account, rejected the motion. After the leaders of the mutiny had considered of various projects, they determined at last to carry away the military ensigns and standards, and engage all the troops to follow them without the privity of their officers. This design was executed under the conduct of a plebeian, named Sicinnius Bellutus. The troops marched away, and encamped beyond the Anio, three miles from Rome, on a hill, called afterwards the Sacred Mount, as their retreat was styled the secession^m.

*The soldiers
desert their
generals.*

The first measure of the rebellious army, was, to choose a general, and Sicinnius was named for that office. Then they secured themselves within strong entrenchments, where they lay quiet, without committing any hostilities. The consuls and officers, seeing themselves thus deserted by their troops, dispatched a messenger to Sicinnius, exhorting him to return to the camp, and bring back the troops to their duty: but he returned such an answer, as shewed, that he was determined to keep no measures with the patricians. A desertion so general, which looked like the beginning of a civil war, gave great uneasiness to the senate, and occasioned a general consternation in the city. The patricians were forced to guard the gates in their own persons, in order to prevent the citizens from going out to join the malcontents; but, notwithstanding this precaution, those who were burdened with debts, and such as loved novelty, escaped, and fled to the camp of Sicinnius. In this general confusion the senate met daily, and, after warm debates, in which they mutually accused each other of indulgence and severity, they at length agreed to send a deputation to the malcontents, offering them a general pardon, and exhorting them to return to the city. But this step only served to increase the insolence of the soldiers: the deputies were therefore sent back contemptuously, with no other answer, than that the patricians should soon find what enemies they had to deal with. This answer occasioned new alarms in the cityⁿ.

*The senate
dispatch
two depu-
tations to
the mal-
contents;*

*which
serve only
to increase
their inso-
lence.*

In the mean time the two consuls, whose magistracy was near expiring, assembled the centuries, which were

Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 32. ⁿ Liv. *ibid.*

Warm debates in the senate.

left in Rome for the election of their successors; and as no person, at so dangerous a conjuncture, stood candidate for that dignity, they obliged Posthumius Cominius, and Spurius Cassius Viscellinus, both consular men, and equally agreeable to the plebeians and patricians, to accept the consulship. Their first care was to convene the senate, to deliberate upon the most speedy and easy methods of restoring peace and union. Menenius Agrippa, a man of great integrity, and who had stood neuter in the divisions of the people and senate, being the first called upon to give his opinion, declared warmly for a reconciliation with the people, and proposed sending such deputies as were agreeable to them, with full power to accommodate matters upon whatever conditions they should think necessary for the good of the republic. M. Valerius, the late dictator, upbraided the senate with neglecting his former counsels; accused them of indiscretion, in not offering the people an abolition of their debts by the first deputation; foretold, that the mutineers would, besides their first demands, insist upon lasting securities for their future preservation from oppression; and lastly, declared for the opinion of Menenius, advising the senate not to delay one moment giving the people satisfaction, let their demands be what they would. Appius opposed, in a very plausible harangue, the opinion of Menenius and Valerius, and declared entirely against treating with the rebels till they had laid down their arms; but, on that condition, recommended mercy and indulgence. The senate was divided; the old men declared for Menenius Agrippa and Valerius; the young senators, jealous of the prerogatives of their rank, espoused the opinion of Appius; and the uproar was so great, that they almost came to blows. The two consuls, who were disposed to favour the people, having conferred together in private, determined to give time to those hot spirits to cool; and with that view put off the decision of this great affair till another day. But before the assembly broke up, in order to intimidate the young senators, who had behaved in a very audacious manner, they threatened to exclude them from the senate, by fixing the age (O) necessary for a senator,

(O) It is manifest from the senate; and yet that there hence, that the laws had not was a fixed age afterwards required, is very certain; for yet determined at what age a Tully, in speaking of Pompey person might be admitted into says,

nator, unless they brought a more peaceable disposition of mind with them. Some days after the senate met, when every thing was transacted with great tranquility: Menenius being desired again to declare his sentiments, still continued to think it necessary, that plenipotentiaries should be sent to the malcontents, with full power to grant them whatever they should think consistent with the good of the republic. All the senators who had been consuls agreed with Menenius, except Appius, who continued to protest against treating with rebels till they had laid down their arms; and prayed Jupiter, and the tutelar gods of Rome, that he might be deceived in his apprehensions of the evil consequences of such a step^o.

However, the senate, determined by all means to divert the present evil, continued in their former resolution of sending commissioners to treat with the malcontents. Accordingly ten were named, and among them T. Lartius, Menenius Agrippa, and M. Valerius, all three in great esteem, and of whom two had governed the republic, and commanded her armies in quality of dictators. These, with their colleagues, set out for the camp, where they were received with all the respect due to their character. The presence of the deputies would have been sufficient to bring back the mutineers to their duty, had not some turbulent spirits taken care to keep up the fire of discord. These were Sicinnius Bellutus, and another plebeian of the same character, named Lucius Junius, like the founder of the republic; nay, he affected the surname of Brutus, thinking himself destined to deliver the people from the tyranny of the senate, as the famous Brutus had freed Rome from the oppressions of the kings. These two, being appointed by the malcontents to treat with the deputies from the senate, effaced, with their artful speeches, the impression which the presence of the depu-

Deputies sent by the senate to treat with the malcontents.

^o Liv. lib. ii. cap. 32.

(1), says, that he commanded armies before he had attained to the age that was required in a senator: the same is affirmed by Plutarch; and no expression is more frequently made use of by the ancient historians, in the lives of great men, than that of *ætas senatoria*. But

what age the law fixed is uncertain. Dio Cassius limits it to twenty-five, which was the age required for the quaestorship, the first office of any considerable note. However, we read of many persons promoted to this dignity, without any regard had to their years.

(1) Cic. pro Leg. Manil.

ties,

*Menenius
Agrippa,
by his fa-
mous apo-
logue, over-
comes their
obstinacy.*

*The artful
manage-
ment of
Junius
Brutus, one
of the heads
of the se-
dition.*

ties, and their harangues had made on the minds of the multitude. But Menenius Agrippa, after having assured them that the senate had, with unanimous consent, determined to annul all bonds and obligations at present subsisting, so softened the populace by this promise, and the famous apologue of a conspiracy of all the members of the human body against the stomach, which he applied to the people and the senate, that they all cried out they were satisfied, and that he might lead them back to Rome^p.

This sudden motion alarmed the pretended Brutus, who represented to the people, that they ought indeed to be very thankful for the abolition of their debts; but that he could not forbear letting them know, he was very apprehensive about their future fate; and therefore was of opinion, that means should be found to secure the liberties of the people against the attempts of the ambitious patricians. "What other security can you ask," replied Menenius, "besides what our laws, and the constitution of the republic already afford?" "Give us leave (answered Brutus), to choose annually out of the body of the plebeians a certain number of magistrates, who, without having any other authority in Rome than that of protecting them, may oppose or disannul any edicts or judgments which shall be burdensome to the people. If you come hither with a sincere intention of peace, you cannot reject so equitable a proposal." The deputies, surprised at such a demand, told them, that they asked a very extraordinary indulgence, which absolutely exceeded the bounds of their instructions and powers; but that M. Valerius, and some others of the deputies, would make their report of it to the senate, and return with an answer.

Accordingly, they repaired with all speed to Rome, where M. Valerius gave his opinion in favour of the people; while Appius, burning with indignation, exclaimed against the dreadful consequences which would attend such condescension. But his remonstrances were neglected, and the other side prevailed, most of the senators being weary of these divisions, and desirous to have peace on any terms; so that, with almost an universal consent, a *senatusconsultum* or decree of the senate was passed, permitting the creation of these new magistrates, who were called tribunes of the people. This decree, which in-

cluded also the abolition of debts, was carried by the deputies of the senate to the camp as a seal of peace. The people were now impatient to return to Rome; but the leaders of the sedition would not allow them to separate, before they had elected the new magistrates. The assembly was held in the camp, and the auspices being taken, the suffrages were gathered by curiæ, when L. Junius Brutus, and C. Sicinnius Bellutus, were chosen the first tribunes. These immediately named the two Licinii, Publius and Caius, with Sp. Icilius Ruga, to be their colleagues. Before they left the camp, a law was passed, whereby the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. To make this law perpetual, all the Romans were obliged to swear, for themselves and their posterity, that they would inviolably observe it. After these regulations, the people erected an altar to Jupiter the Terrible, on the top of the hill where they had encamped; and, having consecrated the place of their retreat, which, from this time, was called the Sacred Mount, they followed the deputies of the senate, and returned to the city (P).

Yr. of Pl.
183.
Ante Chr.
490.
U. C. 258.

Tribunes of
the people
created.

The people
return to
Rome.

One

† Dion. Halic. lib. vi. p. 368.
Liv. lib. iii. cap. 30—33.

† Dion. Hal. p. 386—410.

(P) The tribunes were at first five in number; but in a few years five more were added. They were always chosen by the plebeians, and out of their body. Their sole function was to defend the liberties of the plebeians, and to interpose in all grievances offered them by their superiors. This interposing in matters determined by the senate, or other magistrates, was called *intercessio*, and was performed by standing up, and pronouncing only one word, "*Veto*: I forbid it." They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and were never admitted but when the consuls called them to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interests of the people. As for the ensigns of their office, they

had no toga prætexta, listors, or curule chair; but were habited like private men, and attended only by one servant, called *viator*. Their power was confined within the walls of Rome, or extended at most to a mile round the city. They were not allowed to be absent from the city a day, Dio says an hour, except in the *feriæ Latinæ*. To shew their readiness to protect the people, they were obliged to keep their doors open night and day. Their authority was very great; for though at first they pretended only to prevent oppression, yet afterwards they usurped the power of doing almost whatever they pleased, having the populace to support them. They assembled the people, enacted laws, made decrees,

The Roman History.

One of the first steps of the tribunes towards an increase of power was, to ask permission of the senate to choose two assistants in the execution of their office. This new demand was also complied with, and two persons were chosen out of the plebeians to be the tribunes assistants or agents. These afterwards had the cognizance of a great many affairs, which before belonged to the consuls, and the inspection of all buildings, both public and private; from which last branch of their office they took the name of ædiles, with the epithet of plebeian, to distinguish them from the ædiles curules, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

*The Volsci
and Antia-
tes defeat-*

*The gallant
behaviour
of Caius
Marcius
Coriolanus.*

Concord being thus re-established in Rome, troops were easily raised to march against the Volsci, whom the consul Cominius defeated in a pitched battle, and took from them Longula and Polusca. He marched next to besiege Corioli, the metropolis of the Volsci, which he likewise reduced, and gained a victory over the Antiates the same day. But Caius Marcius, a young patrician, had all the glory of both actions: for the besieged having made a vigorous sally, and driven the Romans back quite to their intrenchments, Marcius, by his words and example, rallied the fugitives, brought them back to the charge, and, having obliged the enemy to retire into the city, followed them so close, that he entered with them, and made himself master of the place. He then hastened to join the consul's army, which was upon the point of engaging with the Antiates, who were come to assist their allies. In the engagement which ensued, he behaved with equal bravery, and was attended with equal success, the victory, which was gained, being entirely owing to his courage and prudent conduct. Next day the consul, having caused his tribunal to be erected before his tent, and called his soldiers together, made an harangue to them, which was little more than a panegyric on the brave Marcius. He put a crown of gold upon his head; assigned him a tenth part of the spoil; gave him a fine horse, with rich furniture, in the name of the republic; allotted him as much money as he could carry away; and, lastly, allow-

and executed them upon the magistrates themselves, commanding sometimes the consuls to be carried to prison. In short, they occasioned greater disturbances in the state than those which they were first created to appease; whence they are styled by some of the ancients, "the bane of the public tranquillity."

ed him to choose any ten of the prisoners. But of all these presents the young hero accepted only the horse, and demanded but one captive of the ten, an old friend of his family, with a design to give him his liberty. This generous and disinterested conduct silenced even jealousy itself. All respected a hero whose sentiments were as noble as his valour was unrivalled. But the consul, to add to the glory of the brave warrior, bestowed on him the surname of *Coriolanus*, transferring thereby from himself to *Marcus* all the honour of the conquest of *Comoli*^s.

The enemies of Rome, terrified by the reduction of the Volsci, remained quiet at home; so that the consul disbanded his army, and war was succeeded by works of religion, public games, and treaties of peace. The ancient alliance was renewed with the Latins, and a third day added to the *ferie Latinae*. In the mean time *Mencius Agrippa* died in great poverty. His relations resolved to bury him without ceremony; but the people, at the motion of their new tribunes, agreed to pay a sextans, or two ounces of brass, a-head, towards the expence of a magnificent funeral. The senate, thinking it would reflect no small dishonour upon them to suffer an illustrious patrician to be buried at the expence of the people, allotted a sum out of the public treasury for his funeral, and committed the care of it to the *quæstors*. Nevertheless the people refused to receive back their money, ordering it to be given to the children of the deceased *Menenius*^t. This memorable consulship ended with a *censûs* and *lustrum*, when there appeared to be but an hundred and ten thousand men in Rome fit to bear arms.

Under the new administration of *T. Geganius*, and *P. Minutius*, Rome suffered greatly by a famine; and this calamity revived the civil dissensions. The senate, in order to disburden the city, sent away great numbers of people to plant colonies at *Velitræ* and *Norba*, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes. In the mean time the *Antiates*, taking advantage of the famine with which Rome was afflicted, and of the discord between the people and the senate, made incursions to the gates of the city. *Coriolanus* could not bear this insult; as the tribunes still opposed any regular levies, he put himself at the head of a band of volunteers, advanced into the

The ancient alliance with the Latins renewed.

Rome suffers greatly by a famine.

The gallant behaviour of Coriolanus.

^s Dion. Hal. lib. vi. p. 471—476. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 33. *Plut.* in *Coriol.*
^t Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. *ubi supra.*

*The civil
diffusions
reviewed.*

enemy's country, defeated them in several engagements, and returned loaded with a rich booty, consisting of corn, cattle, and slaves. At this exploit the patricians triumphed, and the plebeians complained of their tribunes, for having diverted them from following so successful a leader. On the other hand, the tribunes, whose credit subsisted only by the misunderstanding they fomented between the two orders in the commonwealth, endeavouring to excite the populace to a general revolt, openly accusing the patricians of being the cause of the scarcity, while their own families were plentifully supplied with provisions. The senate, alarmed at the storm that threatened them, met daily to deliberate on the means to avert it. Some of the senators thought it necessary to employ soft words and fair promises to gain over the most mutinous. But the opinion of Appius prevailed, which was, that the tribunes should be threatened with the severest punishments, as disturbers of the public peace, if they did not amend their behaviour.

*The tri-
bunes dis-
pute with
the senate
the right of
speaking in
the assembly
of the peo-
ple.*

But when the consuls came to declare to the curiæ the resolution of the senate, the tribunes interrupted them, and even disputed their right of speaking in the comitia, contending that their province was confined to the senate. The contest growing very warm, and the most irascible individuals in each party being ready to come to blows, Brutus, who was now but ædile, desired leave of the consuls to speak to the people, promising to quiet the dispute. Geganius and Minutius, pleased with the deference paid them, readily consented to let him say what he thought fit. But he, instead of addressing himself either to the tribunes, or the people, turned to the consul Geganius, who had been one of the commissioners sent to the malcontents on the Sacred Mount, and asked him; whether he remembered, that one of the articles of the late reconciliation was, that no patrician should interrupt those who were appointed to take care of the interests of the people? "I remember it very well," replied the consul. "Why then (added Brutus), do you now come hither to disturb the conference between the people and their tribunes?" "Because (said Geganius), this assembly was summoned by us, and not by you." The consul added too rashly; that, if the tribunes had convened the assembly, he would not even have come to hear what they said. At these words Brutus cried out aloud, "That is enough; you grant all we ask; speak to-day as much as you please; to-morrow I will tell you how

how far our power extends, and how far yours may be carried." Next morning, before it was light, the tribunes and ædiles went to the temple of Vulcan, which stood near the comitium, and there assembled the people, complaining of the attempt that had been made the day before, to impose silence upon them in the assembly of the people, whom it was their duty to defend. They then proposed to the curiæ the following law, empowering the tribunes to harangue the people: "Let no man presume to interrupt a tribune, who is speaking in the assembly of the Roman people. If any one infringe this law, he shall immediately give bail to pay the fine to which he shall be condemned: if he refuses to give this security, he shall be put to death, and his goods confiscated: the difficulties which may arise about these securities shall be referred to the people, and determined by them." This law was confirmed by the suffrages of the people, before the consuls could make any opposition to it. The senate indeed refused to confirm it; but then the people, in their turn, would not accept the decrees of the senate. Thus these two tribunals were ever opposing one another; but the people always gained their point by their numbers, and the unanimity of their leaders.

A law is passed, making it penal to interrupt the tribunes, when they are speaking to the people.

The people, satisfied with having enlarged the power of their tribunes, bore the famine patiently, and continued quiet, till plenty of corn arriving from Sicily, in the consulate of M. Minutius and A. Sempronius, furnished the tribunes with a new occasion of rekindling sedition. The senator who favoured the people, proposed distributing gratis, among the poor, the corn which had been bought with the public money. But the opposite faction insisted on holding up the price of bread, in order to keep the populace in dependence and subjection. The famous Coriolanus, at the head of the severe party, spoke loudly against shewing any indulgence to the people; he even proposed to abolish the office of tribune, and take vengeance of the populace for their past insolence. The senators were divided in their opinions, but the greater part declared for re-establishing the government upon its ancient foundations, and annulling the treaty concluded on the Sacred Mount. These proceedings enraged the tribunes, who left the assembly, in the greatest fury, calling out aloud on the gods, the avengers of perjury, to witness the solemn oaths by which the senate had authorised the establishment of their dignity. The people, fired by their factious magistrates, were ready to break into the senate,

Fresh disputes on the division of corn.

and there sacrifice Coriolanus to their hatred and revenge".

*Coriolanus
summoned
to appear
before the
tribunes.*

*The tri-
bunes at-
tempt to
seize him.*

The tribunes, however, that their proceedings might be regular, restrained their rage; and, having assembled the curiæ, summoned Coriolanus to appear before them; but he despised a summons brought him from a tribunal which he did not acknowledge. In consequence of this contempt, the tribunes, with a gang of the most mutinous amongst the plebeians, waited for him at the door of the senate, with an intention to seize him when he came out. But as he had a stronger guard with him than they, composed of young senators, who had a great respect for his person, the tribunes and their officers were repulsed. The uproar, however, was increased on the one hand by the crowds of people, who flocked together from all parts of the city; and on the other by the patricians, who hastened to the assistance of Coriolanus. But in the mean time the consuls interposing, dispersed the crowd, and partly by entreaties, partly by their authority, prevailed upon the people to retire. Next day the tribunes, having assembled the people early in the morning, inveighed, as usual, against the whole order of the patricians, but in particular against Coriolanus, repeating the words he had uttered in the senate relating to the distribution of corn. Then they exaggerated the violence he had used against them the day before; the ill treatment their officers had met with from him and his company; and the great number of men he had always about him, whom they called the tyrant's guards. After they had, with long and bitter invectives, rendered Coriolanus odious to the multitude, they added, that if there was any patrician, who would undertake his defence, he might mount the tribunal, and speak to the people. Then Minutius, the eldest consul, presenting himself, in a long speech, cleared the senate from the imputation of having occasioned the famine; excused the imprudent warmth of Coriolanus; desired them to remember his virtues as well as his faults, and entreated them, in the name of the senate, to forgive his indiscretion.

*The consul
Minutius
appeases
the tumult.*

The gentle words of Minutius, joined with promises of sudden plenty, softened and calmed the people. But the artful tribune Sicinnius effaced all impressions made on their minds in favour of Coriolanus. After having thanked the consuls and patricians for their favourable disposi-

tion, he exhorted Coriolanus to have recourse to the clemency of the people, and to make an apology for his conduct. The tribune well knew, that Coriolanus was a man of too lofty a spirit to stoop to supplications; and therefore did not doubt but he would provoke the people afresh with the haughtiness of his answers. Accordingly, the young patrician, instead of appearing as a criminal, assumed the air of a judge, and, by an ill-timed exertion of courage, destroyed the effect of the consul's speech: for he owned what he had said in the senate, and refused to submit to any tribunal, but that of the consuls; protesting with a loud voice, and a threatening look, that he would not have vouchsafed to appear in a tumultuous assembly of seditious men, had it not been to reproach them with their crimes, and put some check to their boundless desires. Lastly, he declared his hatred to the tribunes, whom he called the bane of the public happiness.

Coriolanus provokes the people with the haughtiness of his answers.

It is easy to imagine, that such a speech must have greatly offended the plebeians. Some of them inclined to assassinate him on the spot; but Sicinnius, thinking it necessary to observe, at least, some appearance of justice, put a stop to the fury of the enraged multitude. Having consulted apart with his colleague, without so much as giving himself the trouble to collect the voices of the assembly, he pronounced sentence of death upon Coriolanus, and ordered him to be thrown headlong from the top of the Tarpeian Rock; a punishment inflicted upon such as were enemies to their country. The ædiles instantly advanced with their officers to put the sentence in execution. But the senate, and all the patricians in the assembly, hastening to his assistance, placed him in the midst of them, determined to oppose force with force. And now the people, either thinking their tribunes had carried their animosity too far, or awed by the presence of the consuls, refused to give assistance to their ædiles. Sicinnius therefore, by the advice of Brutus, resolved to prosecute Coriolanus in a legal way, and to convene the people by tribes for his trial. Of this resolution he gave Coriolanus notice in these words: "We cite thee, Coriolanus, to appear before the people in seven-and-twenty days." He then added, "As for the distribution of corn, if the senate does not take due care of that matter, the tribunes will give directions about it." So saying, he adjourned the assembly.

Coriolanus condemned to death by the tribunes; but is rescued by the patricians.

* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 34. Dion. Hal. lib. vi. p. 435-471.

*The senate
endeavour
to allay the
heat of the
people.*

In the mean time the senate, in order to soothe the people, fixed the price of corn at the lowest rate it ever had been at, even before the sedition. The consuls likewise, fearing lest the prosecution of Coriolanus should deter others from speaking their mind freely in the senate, did all that lay in their power to appease the tribunes. Minutius represented to them, that, by an immemorial custom, all proceedings in capital cases were to begin in the senate; and that it belonged to the senators to declare whether it was proper to refer them to the people: he added, that the kings themselves had paid this deference to so august a body; and that he hoped the tribunes would not violate the ancient rules of the government, but apply to the senate, if they had any crimes to lay to the charge of Coriolanus. He concluded by assuring them, that, according to the nature of the crime, and the solidity of the proofs, the senate would refer the whole matter to the judgement of the people. Sicinnius exclaimed against this proposal, pretending, that the affair naturally devolved upon the people, as the supreme court of judicature. But the other tribunes, plainly perceiving that they should make themselves odious even to the plebeians, if they so manifestly deviated from the usual forms of justice, agreed to let the senate decide, as usual, whether the people should take cognizance of the matter depending. However, they insisted upon two conditions; 1st. That the tribunes might be heard in the senate, with relation to the crimes which they pretended they had to lay to the charge of the person accused. 2^{dly}. That the senators, after having been sworn, should deliver their opinions regularly, and the consuls pronounce sentence according to the plurality of voices. The preliminaries being settled, the tribunes were introduced into the senate. Decius, the youngest of them, a man of great eloquence, undertook to shew, that it belonged to the people to hear and determine the present cause. He cited a law of Poplicola, by which the plebeians, when ill-treated by the patricians, were allowed to bring their complaints before the assembly of the people: he urged, that Coriolanus, having been guilty of a notorious insult on the authority of the people, and the dignity of their tribunes, the people were therefore his legal judges: he exaggerated the heinousness of Coriolanus's offence, and advised the senate to withdraw their protection from so proud and insolent a patrician *.

*Two conditions
insisted on by
the tri-
bunes.*

*The tribune
Decius's
speech in
the senate.*

* Dion. Hal. p. 446, 447. Plut. in Coriol.

When the tribune had ended his speech, the consuls asked the opinion of the assembly, beginning with the oldest and most venerable senators. Appius Claudius, when it came to his turn to speak, enumerated, with great warmth, all the encroachments of the plebeians. "At first, (said he), they pleaded poverty, and only demanded an abolition of debts. In the beginning of their seditious separation, they seemed to be content with impunity, and leave to return home. After they had obtained this indulgence, they thought fit to demand a college of tribunes to protect them against our decrees. They insisted that the authority of these officers should be sacred, and their persons inviolable. Then, by the help of these new magistrates, they made laws without our privacy, despised the authority of the senate and consuls, and disannulled our decrees. And now, by an unheard-of usurpation, they summon a most illustrious patrician to appear at their tribunal, where he is to be tried as a criminal, only for delivering his opinion freely." After this remonstrance, he exclaimed against suffering Coriolanus to be tried by the people, or making any concessions to them; and exhorted the senators not to fear a civil war, telling them, that both gods and men would join in their defence.

Appius Claudius opposes the pretensions of the tribunes.

But the popular Valerius was of a contrary opinion. He exaggerated the horrible consequences of a civil war, and endeavoured to shew, that their paying some deference to the people, and their tribunes, was the only expedient to quiet their fury both against their country and the offender. His opinion prevailed, and it was carried by a majority, that Coriolanus should be tried by the people. When the decree was ready to be drawn up, Coriolanus, finding the senate had deserted him, desired to know what crime in particular he was to be accused of. The tribunes answered, that they would confine their whole accusation to the single crime of usurping tyrannical power. "Upon that condition (replied Coriolanus), I have nothing to object to the decree of the senate; let it be put in writing; I will appear before the people, and answer that frivolous charge." Thus, with the consent of all parties, the decree was drawn up, and put into the hands of the tribunes, who immediately assembled the people, read it to them, and exhorted all the citizens of the republic, as well those who dwelt in the country as the inhabitants of Rome, to be in the forum on the day appointed for the decision of this affair. The decree of the senate allowed the accused

Valerius speaks in behalf of the people.

The senate consent that Coriolanus shall be tried by the people.

seven-

seven-and-twenty days to prepare his defence; during which time the tribunes frequently conferred among themselves, and with the leading men among the plebeians, as if the preservation of the republic had depended on the destruction of Coriolanus.

New disputes about the form of the comitia.

When the appointed day arrived, new disputes arose relating to the form of the comitia, by which the accused was to be tried. The tribunes had separated the people by tribes before the senator's came; whereas, from the reign of Servius Tullius, the voices had always been collected by centuries. The consuls were for adhering to the ancient custom, being convinced that they could save Coriolanus, if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the patricians themselves, and the richest citizens, made the majority. But the artful tribunes, alleging that, in an affair relating to the rights of the people, every citizen's vote should have its due weight, would not by any means consent to let the voices be collected otherwise than by tribes. The people being assembled, Minutius, the consul, spoke first, and endeavoured to persuade the people to be satisfied with Coriolanus's submission in being brought to a trial before them, and not suffer it to be said, that so illustrious a citizen underwent the forms of justice like a criminal. "But if you persist, (said he), and are determined to vote, remember that the whole senate is come hither to sue for his pardon. Will you refuse it to three hundred of the most venerable men in the republic? No; the most bitter enemy can never refuse such powerful intercessors." Sicinnius answered, with a haughty air, "That he was not so cowardly as to betray the interests of the people; and that the assembly should not be dismissed till the affair was determined by a majority of voices." "Well then, (replied Minutius), since you obstinately insist, that Coriolanus shall be tried by this assembly, notwithstanding our entreaties, I demand that, pursuant to your agreement with the senate, you confine your accusation to the single article of tyranny, and bring proofs and witnesses of this crime." Sicinnius then began the accusation, and, reviewing the whole life of Coriolanus, represented him as aiming, in every part of it, at regal power.

Coriolanus is tried in an assembly of the people by tribes.

His noble defence.

When the tribune had done speaking, Coriolanus presented himself in the assembly, and answered the calumnies thrown upon his conduct by a bare recital of his ser-

^y Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Plutarch. in Coriolan. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 34.
^z Dion. Hal. lib. vi. p. 470.

vices. He first enumerated the many campaigns he had made in the service of the republic; then he exposed to the view of the people many crowns with which he had been rewarded by the Roman generals; and every time he shewed the people any of those proofs of his valour, he called upon the commanders, who had honoured him with them, to testify the truth of what he said. He likewise named the many citizens he had saved in battle, and desired them to stand up and witness what he advanced. These men immediately appeared in the midst of the assembly, and, stretching out their hands as suppliants, conjured the assembly not to destroy a man to whom they were indebted for their lives: they offered to take the place of the accused, and to secure his life at the expence of their own. As these were mostly plebeians, their sighs, and pressing solicitations, made such an impression on the multitude, that they could not refrain from tears. Then Coriolanus, tearing away his robe, shewed his breast all covered with the scars of the many wounds he had received; and, at the same time, with an air of confidence mixed with modesty, "It was to save these worthy men (said he), that I have received the wounds you see: let the tribunes shew, if they can, how such actions are consistent with the treacherous designs they lay to my charge. Is it easy to believe, that a man who has done nothing to gain the favour of the people but hazard his life for them, could have a design of usurping the throne?"

He had scarce done speaking, when the most worthy men among the plebeians cried out, that so good a citizen ought to be acquitted; and that a man of his birth and merit ought not to have been brought to trial upon such slight presumptions. Even the most mutinous thought, that the accusers had not exhibited sufficient proofs of the crime laid to his charge. So that the assembly was just ready to break up, much to the reputation of Coriolanus, when the tribune Decius, alarmed at this change, brought in a new charge against him, importing, that, contrary to the Roman laws, he had disposed of the spoils taken from the Antiates in his late expedition, during the famine, among his foldiers, instead of delivering them to the quæstor. "This (said Decius) is a plain proof of his evil designs; with the public money he secured to himself creatures and guards, and supporters of his intended usurpation. Let him make it appear, that he had power
to

Several among the people declare in his favour.

A new charge brought against him.

to dispose of the booty without violating the laws. Let him answer directly to this one article, without dazzling us with the splendid shew of his crowns and scars, or using any other arts to amuse the assembly." Neither Coriolanus nor his friends were prepared for this accusation; so that the tribunes, taking advantage of their surprize, exaggerated this breach of the law. Sicinnius insolently asked him, whether he was king of Rome; and by what authority he had disposed of what belonged to the republic and the Roman people. All Coriolanus could say, was, that those of the people who had attended him in that expedition, had received the whole benefit of that pillage. But the tribunes, urging he had, by that distribution, violated a law which was as ancient as Rome itself, rekindled the former animosity of the people against him, especially of those who had not been sharers in the booty.

*Coriolanus
is condemn-
ed to ban-
ishment.*

Of this animosity they laid hold, as the most favourable opportunity to collect the suffrages, so that Coriolanus might be condemned to perpetual banishment. Of the twenty-one tribes but nine voted for him, and the rest against him. The joy of the people upon this great event, is not to be imagined: they never expressed more, even after the greatest victories; and, indeed, not without reason; for, by the advantage they had gained over the senate and the nobility, the form of government was absolutely changed: the plebeians, who had been hitherto dependent on the patricians, were become their judges, possessed of a right to call before their tribunal the greatest men in the commonwealth, and to decide their fate. On this occasion it was easy to distinguish the patricians from the plebeians by the sorrow or joy which appeared in their countenances. Coriolanus was the only person among the former who seemed unconcerned. He neither said nor did any thing unworthy of his usual magnanimity. He repaired immediately to his own house, where he found his mother Veturia, and Volumnia, his wife, in tears. He exhorted them to behave with constancy and fortitude under the various events of life; and, having recommended to them the care of his children, who were yet but infants, he took his leave, not suffering any body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A great number of the senators, and other patricians, attended him to the gate of the city; but, being justly offended at the weakness of their conduct, he said not

*His firm-
ness and
constancy.*

not one word to them by the way, and parted from them with the same reproachful silence *.

The illustrious exile spent the first days of his banishment at a country-seat of his own, in the neighbourhood of Rome. There, being left wholly to himself, he could not resist the strong motions of his resentment, but resolved to revenge the affront he had sustained. Having taken this resolution, he cast his eyes upon the several nations that were neighbours and enemies to Rome; and finding none more exasperated against the Romans, or in a better condition to undertake a war, than the Volsci, he determined to seek a retreat among them, not doubting but he should prevail upon them to espouse his quarrel, and join with him in pursuing their common revenge. The Volsci at that time formed a republic, consisting of several small cantons united by a league, and governed by an assembly of deputies from each. One Attius Tullus, or, as Plutarch calls him, Tullus Amphidius, a man of great experience in war, who had a considerable interest throughout the whole nation, was then their general. In the late conflicts between the Romans and the Volsci, he had been often encountered, and always conquered, by Coriolanus.

*He resolves
to revenge
the affront.*

However, the Roman thought he could disclose his resentments, and entrust his life, with none more safely than with a brave man, who perhaps might entertain as great an esteem for him as he had for Attius. He therefore came to a resolution to apply himself directly to this general. Accordingly he left his retreat in disguise, and, in the evening, entered Antium, one of the chief cities of the Volsci, where Tullus resided. He went to his house with his face covered, and sat down by the hearth of the domestic gods, a place sacred in all the houses of the ancient Pagans. Attius was at supper in an inner apartment, when news were brought him, that a stranger, of a very majestic air, had, without speaking to any person, come into his house, and placed himself by the hearth of his Lares. Attius immediately asked him who he was, and what he required. Coriolanus then uncovered his face; but Attius not recollecting his features, the Roman told him his name, acquainted him with his case, and offered to assist the Volsci against Rome with his counsels, and all his experience in war. Attius immediately gave him his hand, received him with great

*He retires
to Antium,
the chief
city of the
Volsci.*

* Dion. Hal. lib. vi. p. 472. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 35. Plut. in Coriol.

kindness,

*kindly
received by
Attius, ge-
neral of the
Volsci.*

kindness, and assured him of the friendship of the Volsci. He then led him into his apartment, where they spent some days in private conferences about the means of punishing Rome for the mischiefs she had done the Volsci, and the hard usage Coriolanus had received.

*Concerts
with him a
stratagem
to stir up
the Volsci
to renew
the war
with Rome.*

But the great point was, how to bring the whole nation to a rupture with Rome. The Volsci had suffered greatly in the last war, and had, by yielding some of their towns, and part of their territory, obtained of the republic a truce for two years. As this truce was not yet expired, Tullus, though he had great interest in the diets of the cantons of his country, could not promise that he should be able to persuade the whole nation to take up arms. However, the two generals, at last, found means to compass what they desired. The Romans were making great preparations for public sports, which drew crowds of strangers from all parts. The Volsci especially went thither in great numbers; a circumstance which gave no small uneasiness to the consuls, whose apprehensions were increased by an artifice which the two generals had concerted together. This was to suborn one of the Volsci to go to the consuls, and pretend to make a discovery of a design his countrymen had to set fire to Rome, while the Romans were engrossed by the games and public sports in the circus.^b The new consuls, C. Julius and Pinarius Rufus, who had been just chosen in the room of Q. Sulpitius and Sp. Lartius, immediately made the report of the pretended plot to the senate; and the senate caused, the same day, a decree to be published throughout the city, requiring all the Volsci to leave it before sun-set, on pain of death. The consuls being ordered to see this decree put in execution, caused all the gates of the city to be shut, except the gate Capena, through which all the Volsci were driven out with shame and ignominy. Tullus met them, as by chance; and hearing how they had been treated, exaggerated the affront they had received. "We alone (said he), of all the different nations now in Rome, are not thought worthy to see the games. We alone, like the profanest wretches and outlaws, are driven from a public festival. Go, and tell in all your cities and villages, the distinguishing mark the Romans have put upon us."

He found no difficulty in exasperating minds already prejudiced; a general diet was tumultuously assembled, when all the deputies gave their opinion, that they were

^b Liv. lib. ii. cap. 36, 37. Dion. Hal. p. 474. Plut. in Coriol.

at liberty to begin the war without waiting till the truce was expired. When Tullus, who conducted the affair, saw his countrymen ready to carry fire and sword into the territory of Rome, he advised them, before they broke up, to send for Coriolanus into their assembly; telling them, that exile's enmity to Rome was greater than their's; and that he was capable of doing more hurt to the Romans than ever they had received at their hands. Coriolanus being introduced into the assembly, related his misfortunes; and made a merit of choosing a retreat among the Volsci rather than among the Latins, Hetrurians, or Sabines; he persuaded them to demand all the cities the Romans had taken from them; and lastly, offered to assist their generals with his counsels and sword, without aspiring to any command in their armies. His speech was received with great applause; and the ambassadors were dispatched to Rome to demand the restoration of the lands and cities which had been taken in the late war. But the only answer they brought back was this: that the Romans would not restore what they had conquered; and that, if the Volsci were the first to take arms, the Romans would be the last to lay them down.

In consequence of this answer, the Volsci unanimously appointed Tullus and Coriolanus to command their troops; and to attach the latter more strictly to them, conferred on him the dignity of senator. The two generals immediately raised a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies: Tullus with one staid in the country to cover it on the side of Latium, while Coriolanus with the other, consisting of the flower of the Volscian troops, entered the territory of Rome before the consuls had taken any measures to oppose him, and made himself master of Circæum, Corbio, Vitellium, and Trebia. Toleria, Bola, Labicum, and Pedum, all in Latium, or on the confines of that country, were taken sword in hand, and the inhabitants given up to the fury of an enemy victorious and enraged. As this irruption was not expected, Coriolanus found many Roman citizens dispersed about the country; and these he made slaves. He burnt their farms, carried away the cattle, destroyed all the instruments of husbandry, and, in short, carried fire and sword into all parts. However, in that general devastation, either from regard to his old friends, or to keep up a reciprocal animosity between the two parties, he spared

Yr. of R.
1862.
Ante Chr.
486.
U.C. 262.

*The Volsci
rejoice
upon a
war with
Rome.*

*Coriolanus
appointed
to com-
mand, in
conjunction
with Tul-
lus.*

*Takes
many cities
from the
Romans.*

*Lays waste
their terri-
tory.*

the houses and lands of the patricians. This conduct had the desired effect. The plebeians complained of the patricians, as if they had brought so formidable an enemy upon them; and the patricians upbraided the people with having forced so great a captain to throw himself into the arms of the enemy. As mutual distrust, suspicion, and hatred, reigned in both parties, they were not so eager to repulse the Volsci as to decry and ruin each other; so that Coriolanus, finding no army in the field to oppose his designs, carried on his conquests, took Lavinium, and at length came and encamped at the Fossa Cluilia, within five miles of Rome ^d.

*Encamps
near Rome.*

*The people
are for re-
calling him
from ban-
ishment.*

The city was then filled with consternation. The people, terrified at the approach of so formidable an enemy, hastened into the forum, and there, with loud cries, demanded peace, and the abolition of the decree by which Coriolanus had been banished. But the senate, who had formerly protected the exile, now refused to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of maintaining a correspondence with Coriolanus, or perhaps out of that spirit of patriotism which rendered the Romans averse from peace, when they were attended with bad success in war. However that be, the Roman general no sooner understood the opposition the senate made to his return, than he advanced to Rome, and invested the place, as if he designed to besiege it. Coriolanus continuing there that evening, and a good part of the next day, without making any motion, the Romans imagined he only waited for an opportunity of reconciling himself with his country. The senate therefore, in the following consulship of Sp. Nautius and Sex.

*The senate
send a de-
putation to
him.*

Furius, resolved to send a deputation to him, consisting of five senators, who had been his most zealous friends. These were M. Minutius, Posthumius Cominius, Sp. Lartius, P. Pinarius, and Q. Sulpitius, who had all been consuls. When Coriolanus understood that the deputies were coming, he pleased himself with the thought of humbling those proud republicans. He ordered them to be conducted through two ranks of soldiers standing to their arms, and gave them audience sitting, and surrounded by the most considerable men amongst the Volsci. Minutius, who had been his chief advocate, reminded him of the regard the patricians had always shewn for his interest; and endeavoured to excuse, in some measure,

*How he
received
the depu-
ties.*

^d Dion. Hal. p. 477. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 39.

the people, of whom nine tribes had voted for his being acquitted. He expostulated with him for carrying his resentment to such an excess, expatiated on the instability of fortune, and, lastly, invited him to throw himself into the arms of his native city, which stretched them out, like a tender mother, to receive him into her bosom. Coriolanus answered, with a haughty air, that, as general of the Volsci, he must advise them to apply to the nation he served, and, in a suppliant manner, sue to them for peace, which he engaged to procure for them, upon condition that Rome restored to the Volsci the country she had taken from them, granted them the same rights of citizenship which she had granted to the Latins, and recalled the Roman colonies from those towns of which she had unjustly taken possession. As to the liberty offered him of going back to Rome, he said it was not worth his acceptance. "Is a bare re-establishment in Rome (said he), a sufficient satisfaction for the affronts I have received? Can there be any safety for me, while a Sicinnius or a Decius is able to aim the populace against my life? No: Rome is an unnatural mother, who has cast off a son that was useful to her, and zealous for her glory. She shall soon know, by the effects of my resentment, whose cause it is that the gods espouse." Having thus spoken his sentiments with respect to the interests of the Volsci, and his own injuries, he assumed a more gentle air towards the deputies; assured them, that he remembered, with pleasure, his obligations to them; returned them thanks for the generous protection they granted to his wife and children; and told them, that, to shew his gratitude, he would even allow the Romans a truce for thirty days, with respect to the proper territory of Rome; but that, after the expiration of that time, he should expect a decisive answer^c.

*His answer
to the de-
puties.*

Coriolanus employed the thirty days in making new conquests in Latium, and then returned and encamped before Rome with all his forces. The senate had spent that interval in deliberations; and the result of their debates may convey a true idea of the temper of those haughty republicans. They resolved never to receive law from their enemy, nor treat of peace with him, till he had laid down his arms, and retired from the territory of Rome, and from those of her allies. Their pride did not abate, notwithstanding the present calamity. They chose

*Makes
new con-
quests in
Latium,
and re-
turns be-
fore Rome.*

^c Dion. Hal. lib. vii. p. 478. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 39. Plut. in Coriol.

A new deputation.

ten new deputies to carry this message to Coriolanus, who returned them this short answer, that the Romans had no alternative but compliance with the articles, or war; and that he allowed them three days more to come to a final determination. He even refused to hear their reply, threatening to treat them as spies, if they did not quit his camp immediately. The report of the deputies threw the city into the utmost consternation. All that could be done in this universal dejection, was to appoint every one his post, either on the ramparts, the Capitol, or in the towers. The tribunes were not now so much as heard of; the consuls, in the utmost perplexity, assembled the senate; expedient upon expedient was proposed; and, at last, they agreed to send a new deputation to the enemy's camp, consisting of all the ministers of the gods, with which they thought Coriolanus could not but be affected. Accordingly, all the priests, augurs, sacrificers, and guardians of the sacred things, were ordered to march out of the city in their habits of ceremony; and to conjure Coriolanus, by the respect he owed to the gods, to grant peace to his country. But this deputation was as fruitless as the former. Coriolanus sent them back to the city, with orders to acquaint the senate, that the attack would immediately begin, if they did not submit to the conditions which he had proposed in the name of the Volscean nation^f.

A third deputation.

Upon the return of the priests, the Romans looked upon the republic as lost; the men ran in disorder to the walls, and the women in despair to the temples, especially to that of Jupiter in the Capitol, where, with tears in their eyes, they implored of the tutelar gods of Rome the preservation of their country, then on the brink of ruin. Such was the face of affairs in the city, when a Roman matron, named Valeria, sister of the famous Valerius Poplicola, as if she had been moved by inspiration, turned to the other matrons, who were come in crowds to the temple of Jupiter, and suggested to them a resolution which saved Rome. "Let us not suffer ourselves, said she to them, to sink under our present afflictions. What men could not do, women may perhaps accomplish. We may perhaps soften the heart of a conqueror, hitherto inflexible. Let us go in this mournful dress to the house of Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and persuade her to accompany us to the camp of her son. Co-

The Roman matrons resolve to intercede with him.

^f Dion. Liv. *ibid.*

riolanus will never be able to resist the tears of his mother, his wife, and his children, when attended with all the women of distinction in Rome." This proposal being approved of by all who were present, they went immediately to the house of Veturia, whom they found with Volumnia, her daughter-in-law, deploring their own misfortunes and those of Rome. Veturia, surprised to see so many women of distinction crowd to her, asked what had brought them to a house overwhelmed with sorrow? "You, replied Valeria, are the only refuge we have left in our misfortunes. We come to intreat you to preserve our estates, our honour, and our liberty, from the Volsci. Repair then with us to the camp of Coriolanus, accompanied by Volumnia, and these tender children, who may soften the heart of their beloved father. Your presence will persuade him to prefer the preservation of his destitute family to the gratification of his resentment, and the honours he may expect from the Volsci. Nothing can be more glorious for you, Veturia, than to recover your son, deliver your country, and save the lives of your fellow-citizens. Make no delay, since the danger is great, and requires a speedy remedy." Veturia, bursting into tears, replied, "Alas! my interest in Coriolanus is but a poor refuge. What impressions can women make on a warrior spirited by revenge? I am not wanting in affection to my country; but what am I now in my son's eyes more than other Roman women, who share the aversion he has for Rome? This he sufficiently shewed at his departure into banishment. Coriolanus, said he to us, is now lost to you for ever. I have no longer either mother, wife, or children. I renounce all, even my domestic gods. Can we then hope to soften so hard a heart? What shall we persuade him to do? To love a country which has treated him so injuriously? To betray a nation which has received him in its bosom? Shall we desire him to shew compassion for a people who had none for him? Let me spend my days, Valeria, in grief and sorrow, and do not force me to suffer the mortification of a refusal, which will be equally dishonourable to Coriolanus and his mother." But Valeria renewing her entreaties, and all the Roman matrons embracing the knees of Veturia, and conjuring her not to refuse her country this last assistance, Veturia, at length overcome, promised to comply with their request, if the senate agreed to the experiment.

Prevail upon his mother Veturia to make a fourth attempt upon his resolution.

Valeria immediately gave advice of this design to the consuls, who proposed it in the senate, where, after long

The senate approve what the matrons had proposed.

The interview between Coriolanus and his mother.

debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then Veturia, and the most illustrious of the Roman matrons, in chariots, which the consuls had ordered to be got ready for them, repaired to the enemy's camp. Coriolanus being informed, that his mother, his wife, and a great number of other matrons, were coming to his quarters, determined to receive them with the same respect that he had paid to the ministers of religion, but to grant them nothing; for he was not ignorant of the views the Romans had in so unheard-of a deputation. But, notwithstanding his resolution, he no sooner saw his mother and wife at the head of this troop of women, than he began to relent. He walked out of his tent; and ordering his lictors to lower their fasces before persons so dear to him, ran hastily to embrace them. When they had given some time to the first emotions of nature, Veturia began to enter upon the subject for which she came; and Coriolanus, that he might not give any umbrage to the Volsci, called the chief officers of his army to be witnesses of what passed in this interview. Veturia told him, that the Roman matrons who attended her, had omitted nothing, during his absence, that could comfort her and his wife Volumnia in their affliction; that they were come to beg peace of him once more, and to conjure him, by all that was dear to him, to turn his arms against other enemies. Coriolanus replied, that he could not think of betraying the interests of a nation which had trusted him with the command of their army, and honoured him with a place in their senate; that he had found more honours at Antium than he had lost at Rome; and that nothing would be wanting to his happiness, if she and Volumnia would leave the ungrateful city, and enjoy among the Volsci the honours which they would pay to the mother and wife of their general.

Her affecting speech.

The Volscian officers seemed much pleased with this answer; but Veturia, avoiding any comparison between Rome and Antium, which would have offended them, declared, that she would never require any thing of him that might be a blemish upon his honour; but that, without being wanting in what he owed to the Volsci, he might mediate a peace equally advantageous to both nations. Then raising her voice, she added: "And can you, my son, reject a proposal so equitable? Can you prefer the interest of a cruel and obstinate revenge to the tears and entreaties of your mother? Consider, that your answer is to decide the fate of my glory, and also of my life.

life. A Roman woman knows how to die, when her honour calls upon her. If I cannot move you, know I have resolved to die in your presence. You shall not march to Rome, without treading under your feet the body of her to whom you owe your being."

Veturia, perceiving her speech made a deep impression on his mind, continued her discourse, conjuring him, by the great Jupiter, who presided in the Capitol, and by the manes of his father and ancestors, to withdraw his troops from Rome, and allow the Romans, for her sake, a truce for a year, that, in this interval, measures might be taken to procure a solid and lasting peace. "Grant this, my son, said she; and if my tears and prayers are not able to move you, behold your mother at your feet, imploring of you the preservation of her country." With these words, she embraced his knees; his wife and children followed her example; and all the Roman matrons begged for mercy with tears and lamentations. Coriolanus, seeing his mother at his feet, could hold out no longer; but, amidst a struggle of different passions, exclaimed, "Ah! mother, you disarm me;" and tenderly pressing her hand in lifting her up, he added, in a low voice, "Rome is saved, but your son is lost;" foreseeing, that the Volsci would never forgive him the regard he was going to pay to her entreaties. He then retired into his tent with his mother, wife, and children; and there conferred with the two persons that were most dear to him, on the measures he should take with respect to the Volsci and to the Romans.

The articles agreed on were these: 1st, That Coriolanus should decamp next day, without committing any hostilities in the Roman territory. 2dly, That he should use his utmost endeavours to persuade the chiefs of the Volsci to conclude a peace with Rome upon reasonable terms. 3dly, That if the Volsci would not hearken to an accommodation, he should then lay down the command of their army; a step which would probably bring them to a better temper. Veturia, after a conference so beneficial to her country, taking leave of her son, returned in the evening, with the other Roman ladies, to Rome, where they were received amidst the acclamations of the whole city. The senate desired them to ask what reward they pleased for so important a service; but Veturia, after having consulted with the others, replied, that they asked nothing but leave to build a temple, at their own expence, to the "Fortune of Women." The senate, applauding their disinterestedness, ordered both the temple and the

He begins to relent.

His mother prevails upon him to raise the siege of Rome.

The articles he agrees to.

statue to be erected at the expence of the public, in the very place where Veturia had overcome the obstinacy of her son. Valeria, who had proposed so successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this sanctuary, which was much frequented by the Roman women.

He is assassinated by the Volsci.

Honours paid him by the Roman matrons.

Early next morning Coriolanus led back his troops into the country of the Volsci, and there divided all the spoil among his soldiers, without reserving any thing for himself. Though this liberality conciliated the affection of the troops in general, some murmured at the respect he had shewn for his mother and country. Among these was Attius Tullus, who, growing jealous of the esteem and credit which his rival had gained with the soldiers, publicly gave out, that he had betrayed the interest of the Volsci. Coriolanus, thus calumniated, desired he might be allowed to clear his conduct before the general council of the nation. An assembly was accordingly held; but while Coriolanus refuted the articles of the charge brought against him by his adversaries, Tullus, who feared his eloquence no less than his valour, raised a tumult, by the advantage of which some of his emissaries assassinated the illustrious exile. The soldiers who had served under him loudly lamented his death, and the people of Antium performed his obsequies with great pomp, and erected a stately tomb to his memory. The Romans had their reasons of state for not decreeing him the same funeral honours; for he had borne arms against his country, and was not yet reconciled to Rome by a regular treaty. However, the Roman matrons, upon their presenting a petition to the senate, obtained leave to wear mourning for him ten months. Such was the end of the famous Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus, who, for his eminent virtues, and great services, deserved a much better treatment both from the Romans and the Volscians. He was descended from one of the most illustrious patrician families in Rome. He had an excellent understanding, was frugal, disinterested, of strict probity, and inviolably attached to the observation of the laws. These pacific virtues were never known to be accompanied with a more heroic courage, or a greater capacity for the art of war. Rome never bred a more able general: he was always successful, because always equally brave and prudent. But he was imperious, inexorably severe, and so far from affecting popularity, that he ran into the other extreme.

§ Dion. Hal. p. 479, 480. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 40. Plut. in Coriol.

S E C T. II.

From the Death of Coriolanus to the Appointment of Decemvirs.

UPON the advice of Coriolanus's death, the consuls ventured to take the field. These were Sp. Nautius, and Sextus Furius, men of little courage or experience in war. They encamped separately on eminences, at a small distance from the enemy. But though the Æqui and Volsci, who had entered into a confederacy against Rome, wrangled about the choice of a general, and even fought a bloody battle, the timorous consuls did not venture to attack them in their retreat, but led their troops back to Rome, where they were received amidst the reproaches of the people ^b.

These had of late placed such persons at their head as were pliable and submissive, without regarding any other qualifications; but having experienced the inconveniences of being governed by men of little merit, they resolved for the future to change their conduct; and therefore chose two consuls who had given distinguishing proofs of their courage and skill in war, Aquilius Tuscus, and Sicinnius Sabinus. The former gained a complete victory over the Hernici, and the latter prevailed over the Volsci, who had been so formidable under the command of Coriolanus: their army was entirely defeated, their camp taken, and their general Attius Tullus killed in the battle. This victory being of greater consequence than that of Aquilius, Sicinnius was decreed a triumph, and the other only indulged with an ovation. These consuls were succeeded by Sp. Cassius, who had been twice consul before, and had obtained a triumph, and Proculus Virginius, a patrician of known courage. The latter marched against the Æqui; who, upon the approach of the Roman army, retired into their cities. The consul, therefore, who was not in a condition to undertake sieges, returned to Rome. It had fallen to Cassius's lot to make war with the Hernici: accordingly he took the field, and, entering their country, by the mere terror of his arms, obliged them to submit, and sue for peace. The consul, however, would not settle the conditions of the alliance,

Yr. of Fl.
1864.
Ante Chr.
484.
U. C. 264.

The Romans gain two victories, over the Hernici, and the Volsci.

^b Dion. Hal. lib. viii. p. 530. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 40.

till they had first obtained the consent of the senate; which deference so obliged the fathers, that they empowered Cassius to draw up the articles of the treaty, promising to ratify whatever he should determine. This mark of distinction emboldened the consul to demand the honours of a triumph; which, though not due to him (for he had gained no victory), were nevertheless granted. He was no sooner honoured with a second triumph, than he drew up the conditions of the treaty with the Hernici, which was only a copy of the treaty he had made with the Latins in his second consulship. This indulgence granted to the Hernici, gave no small umbrage to the senate: they could not consent, that a foreign nation, but just reconciled to Rome, should be raised at once to equal honours and privileges with the Latins, who were allied to them by blood, and had done them many important services.

*The consul
Sp. Cassius
courts the
favour of
the people.*

As Cassius was a man naturally vain and ostentatious, some penetrating republicans began to suspect, that, in thus favouring the Hernici, he had private views, prejudicial to the state: and indeed he soon convinced them, that his views and interests were very different from those of the commonwealth; for, the very next day after his triumph, having, according to custom, convened an assembly of the people, to give them an account of what he had done for the service of the republic during the campaign, among other things, he told them, that he proposed, before the end of his magistracy, to render the condition of the plebeians so happy, that they should no longer envy that of the patricians. Next day he assembled the senate, and there made a long speech in praise of the plebeians; which he concluded, by proposing a new division of the lands belonging to the public; saying, "It was but reasonable, that the lands taken from the enemy should be divided among those who had exposed their lives to enlarge the bounds of the republic." He added, "That he likewise thought it reasonable, that the poor citizens should be reimbursed what money they had paid in the late famine for the corn, which Gelo, one of the princes of Sicily, had made a present of to the republic; and which ought to have been distributed gratis among the people." Both these proposals were rejected by the senate with great indignation. Most of the senators, without any respect to the dignity of Cassius, publicly reproached him with his pride, his ambition, and the desire he betrayed of raising new trou-

The agrarian law.

bles in the commonwealth. But Cassius, flattering himself that the people would declare in his favour, convened a new assembly; and, having there bitterly inveighed against the patricians; he exhorted the multitude to free themselves at once from the indigence to which the avarice of the nobility had reduced them, by making a solemn law for the partition of the conquered lands in their own favour. He did not stop here; but advised them, by the same law, to admit the Latins and Hernici to share with them in the distribution. To make the people relish this part of his proposal, he insinuated, that by this partition, those two nations would be united with them in one common interest, and consequently would not fail to support them, in case of any attempt made by the patricians to drive them from their possessions. This law, as it related to the division of lands, was called the agrarian law, from the Latin word *ager*, signifying land.

The people, at first, received the proposal with great applause; but the tribunes, displeased to see a consul author of a law which favoured the people, opposed it to the utmost of their power, and brought over to their party great numbers of the people, who, at first, had been fond of Cassius, and had blamed both tribunes and patricians as betraying their interest. "It is a shame, (said the tribunes), to suffer lands, which you have acquired by your blood, to be profusely distributed among allies who had no share in your conquests. Why are the Hernici to have one third of their lands left to them? Ought they not, as a conquered people, to be entirely deprived of them? Romans, there is, without all doubt, a design upon your liberty. Your slavery will be the consequence of this fatal division of lands, which the artful consul would make between you and foreigners. By that extraordinary distribution of lands between the conquerors and the conquered, he designs to make the old enemies of Rome his creatures, to the prejudice of the republic, and to pave himself a way to sovereign power." When Cassius, and his colleague Virginius, who opposed this law, were disputing before the people, Rabuleius, an artful tribune, addressed them both to this effect: "Is not your dispute, whether the people of Rome shall take possession of all the conquered lands, or share them with the Hernici and Latins?" The consuls agreed it was: upon which the tribune, turning to the people, "Our consuls agree (said he), as to the main point: neither of them is for excluding you from the lands in question. Lose no

Why the tribunes opposed it.

The artful conduct of the tribune Rabuleius.

time,

time, therefore, Romans, in taking possession of what is unanimously granted you. As to the other article, leave it to be considered of hereafter." This advice pleased the people, who were for having the clause in favour of foreigners dropped; but Cassius, who was fond of his own scheme, dismissed the assembly, before they came to any resolution. As the people were then unanimously inclined to favour Virginius, Cassius did not appear for some days in public, pretending to be indisposed; but, in reality, contriving new expedients to have his law passed. To this end, he brought as many Latins to Rome as he could assemble; for they had the privileges of Roman citizens. But Virginius, aware of his colleague's design, published a decree, commanding all those, who were not inhabitants of Rome, to leave it immediately. Cassius, on the other hand, issued an edict, declaring it lawful for any one, who was enrolled among the citizens of Rome, to remain in the city; so that a sedition was like to ensue.

Appius Claudius opposes the agrarian law.

His scheme with relation to the conquered lands,

The senate assembled, to prevent the calamities which seemed to threaten the state. Several opinions were offered: Appius Claudius spoke first, and opposed the Cassian law in both its parts: he inveighed against Virginius for shewing too much indulgence to the people, and their tribunes. He proposed that ten commissioners should be named, to take an exact account of such lands as belonged originally to the public: that part of those lands should be sold for the use of the treasury; and another part distributed among the poorer citizens who had none of their own; that the commons should be restored; and landmarks placed wherever they were necessary, the want of which had occasioned all the abuses that were now found so grievous; that the remainder of lands should be leased out at the full rent, but never for a longer term than five years; and that the produce should be applied to the maintenance of the plebeians who were in actual service. A. Sempronius Atratinus, a man much respected by the senate, after having highly approved of Appius's advice, observed, that there were two sorts of lands to be disposed of; some, which were formerly conquered by the Romans, without the assistance of their allies; these, he thought, ought to be divided between the public and the indigent Romans only: others, that had been lately conquered from the Hernici, by the assistance of the Latins, he was of opinion, ought to be divided between the public, the Romans, the Latins, and the Hernici,

Hernici, who were now become allies. As to the creation of the decemvirs, he seconded that motion.

Pursuant to the advice of these two senators, a *senatus-consultum*, or decree of the senate, was drawn up; by which it was enacted, that ten of the fathers, who had been consuls, should be appointed to divide the conquered lands between the treasury, the Romans, and their allies; that, for the future, all the lands the Romans should conquer, with the assistance of their allies, should be divided between the public treasury, the citizens of Rome, and those allies; and lastly, that the choice of the first decemvirs should be left to the consuls of the ensuing year. As the estates of the principal men in Rome lay wholly in those conquered lands, they clogged the decree with this last article, which they hoped would retard the execution of it; and the chief men in the senate resolved to impeach Cassius, and prosecute him to the utmost, in order to deter others from moving in this affair. Accordingly the two new consuls, Q. Fabius, and Servius Cornelius, had no sooner entered upon their office, than the quaestors, Cæso Fabius, brother to the first consul, and Valerius, nephew to the great Poplicola, having convened an assembly of the people, according to the power annexed to their office, accused Cassius of having introduced foreign troops into the city, with a design to usurp the sovereignty. The charge being proved by the depositions of the Latins and Hernici themselves, Cassius was condemned by the unanimous voice of all his fellow-citizens, and thrown down headlong from the top of the Tarpeian rock¹.

The senate decree a partition of the conquered lands.

Sp. Cassius is condemned, and executed.

The pride of the patricians, and their contemptuous treatment of the people, soon made the poorer citizens regret the loss of Cassius, who had been their zealous defender. The consuls postponed from day to day, the nomination of the decemvirs for the distribution of the lands, notwithstanding the solicitation of the tribunes to have the agrarian law put in execution. This delay provoked the people; who, being excited by the seditious harangues of their tribunes, began to hold private assemblies, and threaten both the consuls and the senate. Every thing seemed to tend to a revolt, when the consuls had recourse to the old expedient of amusing the people with a war; but as they were aware, that the tribunes would oppose the necessary levies, they caused a rumour to be spread,

New troubles on account of the agrarian law.

¹ Dion, Hal. p. 537—545. Liv, lib. ii. cap. 42.

that they were going to create a dictator, and that Appius Claudius would be chosen. The name of a man so severe, and so much dreaded by the multitude, made such an impression on the people, that they lifted themselves without delay. Cornelius entered the country of the Veientes; and Q. Fabius invaded the Volsci. Both consuls were attended with uncommon success: Fabius returned with a great booty in cattle and slaves; but sold the whole, and put the money into the hands of the quæstors, without giving the least part of it to his soldiers *. This year being expired, Cæso Fabius the quæstor, and Æmilius Mamercinus, were chosen consuls in the comitia by centuries. Æmilius marched against the Volsci, by whom he was defeated in the field; but the enemy having attacked his camp, after he had received a strong reinforcement from his colleague, he sallied out, put them to flight, and laid waste their country.

Consecration of the temple of Castor and Pollux.

War with the Volsci.

An engagement with the Volsci.

During the absence of the consuls, the senate, to divert the people's minds from the agrarian law, ordered the consecration of the temple of Castor and Pollux, which had been vowed by Posthumius at the battle of Regillus. Mean while, the time for electing new consuls being come, M. Fabius, brother to Quintus and Cæso, and L. Valerius, who, in his quæstorship, had been instrumental in the destruction of Cassius, were chosen. During their consulship, the war with the Volsci breaking out anew, the tribune Mænius protested against any levies for the service, till the decemvirs should be named for executing the agrarian law. The consuls, to extricate themselves from this perplexity, carried their tribunal out of Rome, beyond the jurisdiction of the tribunes, which was confined within the walls of the city. They then sent a summons to the people; and, if any one refused to appear, or give in his name, they ordered his house in the country to be demolished, and his lands laid waste. Thus, without having any contests with the tribunes, they brought the people to their duty, and soon formed two armies; one to march against the Veientes, and the other against the Volsci. The consuls, distrusting their troops, which consisted of men ill-affected to them, and, for the most part, enlisted against their will, agreed to act only upon the defensive. This agreement was observed by Fabius, who marched against the Veientes; but Valerius came to an engagement with the Volsci, which

* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 42. Dion. Hal. p. 547—553.

proved very bloody, without any considerable advantage on either side; for both armies, after having fought many hours with incredible fury, retired, to their respective camps. The friends of Valerius at Rome declared, that it was through want of affection in the soldiers to their general, that he had not gained a complete victory; but the soldiers, in all their letters, accused their general of incapacity in military affairs. The consuls detained their soldiers in the field as long as possible, to avoid fresh disturbances; but, the time for the election of new magistrates drawing near, they were obliged to return to Rome: and then discord raged again with more fury than ever¹.

New disturbances.

The patricians were inclined to promote Appius Claudius, son of the famous Appius, who had so signally shewed his aversion to the people; but, as often as the consuls ordered the centuries to assemble, the tribunes, at the head of the people, made so much noise, that it was impossible to proceed to the election. The consuls and the senate endeavoured to appease the tumult; but to no effect, the tribunes telling them, that, unless they chose men of unquestionable characters, they should find means to prevent any election; and that they would not suffer tyrants to be imposed upon them for magistrates. As these disputes threatened a sedition, the senate agreed to reduce the republic for some time to an interregnum, and commit the administration of affairs to some venerable old men, who should govern by turns, and take care to provide new consuls. S. Atratinus was the first who took upon him the care of public affairs, according to this scheme; and, from that time, all other authority ceased in Rome. To him, a few days after, succeeded Sp. Lartius, a man of a pacific disposition, who managed both parties so artfully, that he prevailed on each to abate a part of their demands. It was concluded, that the election should be made as usual, and by the votes of the centuries; and that the two parties should agree upon the persons who should be raised to the consulate. Union being re-established upon these conditions, they proceeded, only for form-sake, to the election. The tribunes procured the consular dignity for C. Julius Iulus, who was of the people's party: the patricians named for his colleague Q. Fabius Vitulanus, who, without having ever offended the people, had on all occasions asserted the rights of the senate. As for the promotion of Appius,

An interregnum.

Union re-established.

¹ Dion. Hal. lib. ix. p. 559—562. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 42.

the patricians, fearing the opposition of the tribunes might raise a fatal sedition, thought it advisable to defer it to more peaceable times. The tribunes made some opposition to the new levies, in hopes of getting the decemvirs named, and obtaining the partition of the lands : but Fabius, notwithstanding their opposition, raised such a number of troops, as enabled him to take the field, and ravage the country of the Veientes ^m.

*The civil
fends break
out afresh.*

The civil feuds broke out afresh upon the next election of consuls : the people insisted on choosing patricians of their party ; and the senate determined to elect such only as were in the interest of the nobility. Each party asserted its pretensions with equal warmth ; but at length the dispute was accommodated, and they agreed to observe the same rule as in the last election. The senate named Cassio Fabius, who, in his quæstorship, had destroyed Cassius ; and the people pitched upon Sp. Fatius. The Æqui and the Veientes having renewed their incursions, the consuls ordered the people to take arms ; but Sp. Icilius or Licinius, as Livy calls him, one of the tribunes, revived the former quarrel relating to the division of lands, and declared he would vigorously oppose all the decrees that should be issued by the senate, till the decemvirs were named. In the mean time, the Æqui and Veientes, with fire and sword, laid waste the territory of Rome, while the consuls were disabled from taking the field, through the obstinacy of the tribunes, who prevented their making levies. In this perplexity, Appius sought of an expedient, which proved very successful : this was, to gain over some of the tribunes ; for, if the opposition of a single tribune could suspend the execution of a decree of the senate, he concluded, that it had the same force as to the resolutions of his colleagues. The senators therefore exerted their endeavours to gain over some of the tribunes, and their efforts succeeded ; four of that college declaring in a public assembly, they could not endure, that the enemy should thus lay waste the country with impunity. The opposition of Icilius being therefore overruled, the people took arms. Furius, being beloved by his soldiers, made a successful campaign, and gained very considerable advantages over the Æqui ; but the troops of Fabius, who were to act against the Veientes, chose rather to lose their own glory, than gain any honour for their general. They refused to pursue the enemy, after

*The senate,
by a stratagem,
make
the necessary
levies.*

*Great ad-
vantages
over the
Æqui.*

^m Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 43.

they had put their troops to flight, left, by making their victory complete, they should procure Fabius a triumph at his return to Rome. Neither did their animosity stop here; but, the night following, they struck their tents without orders, and began their march towards the city. The consul, finding it impossible to govern them, sounded a retreat, and returned to Rome^a.

Fabius abandoned by the soldiers.

As it was now become customary in the republic to have one of the consuls chosen according to the inclinations of the people, and the other agreeable to those of the senate, the patricians raised to the consulate M. Fabius a second time, notwithstanding his brother Cæso had been so disagreeable to the army the year before; and the people promoted Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus. In their consulship, the Hetrurians, encouraged by the divisions in Rome, invaded the Roman territory with a numerous army. Pontificius, one of the tribunes, renewed the old dispute; and the senate having gained some of their college, an army of twenty thousand men was raised, and equally divided between the two consuls; who, taking the field, encamped near each other; but had so little dependence on the effectualness of their troops, that they kept within their entrenchments. In the mean time, lightning falling upon the tent of the consul Manlius, the augurs declared, that his camp would be taken by the enemy: upon which Pontificius, being told at the same night, and joined his army to that of Fabius. The Hetrurians, interpreting the omen to their advantage, seized the deserted camp, and the undisciplined united armies in their entrenchments. Upon this occasion, those very soldiers, who, a little before, had been so loath to come to battle, began to complain of their commanders for not leading them out against the enemy. The generals seemed to consult, whether it were proper to engage; but their true design was, to increase the eagerness of the soldiers by farther delays.

Yr. of Fl.
1870.
Ante Chr.
478.
U. C. 270.

The Hetrurians invaded the Roman territory.

Accordingly, they grew so impatient to attack the insulting Hetrurians, that the consuls were obliged to take away their arms, lest they should rush to battle without orders. Then they crouded about the general's tent, making great clamours. Fabius seized that opportunity to reproach them with their former behaviour, and to increase their ardour by expressing a diffidence of their courage and honour. They all cried out with one voice, "Lead us on, and lay aside your suspicions." One Fla-

The eagerness of the Romans to engage.

^a Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. *ibid.*

voleius, a centurion, in great esteem among the troops, ascended an eminence, and thus addressed himself to the consuls: "I plainly see you have not quite laid aside your distrust of us; and, indeed, you have reason to fear, that we shall not act answerably to our promises; but for my part at least, I declare, I will behave in the battle like a true Roman. Fellow-soldiers (continued he), do you take the same oath that I am now about to take." So saying, he drew his sword, and, lifting it up towards heaven, exclaimed, "O great Jupiter, Mars, and thou god, whosoever thou art, who punishest breach of faith, I call you to witness, that I will never return to Rome till I have conquered!" The consuls, inferior officers, and all the soldiers, took the same oath, and confirmed it by sacrifices. Then the consuls restored the soldiers their arms, and led them out of the camp in silence and good order, to take possession of an advantageous post, where they formed in battalia. On the other hand, the Hetrurians were surpris'd to see the cowardly Romans come out of their entrenchments, and offer them battle. As this was an occurrence they did not expect, they had not brought the soldiers of the two camps together. However, either of their armies was considerably more numerous than that of Rome; besides, it was confidently reported, that the Romans would betray their generals, and desert them in the heat of the engagement.

*M. Fabius
and Cn.
Manlius
engage the
Hetrurians.*

The Hetrurians, full of these hopes, founded the charge. The consul Manlius commanded the right wing of the Roman army, Q. Fabius conducted the left, and M. Fabius, the other consul, led the main body. Both armies advanced with great shouts, and came to a close engagement. The front of the right wing of the Hetrurians being more extended than that of the left wing of the Romans, and more numerous, Fabius, with great difficulty, withstood the multitude by whom he was opposed. However, he had broken into a great body of Veientes, and put them in disorder, when a Hetrurian of a gigantic stature, attacking him, plunged his lance into his breast. Fabius drew it out, and soon after fell from his horse and died. Upon his death the left wing was surrounded; a circumstance which the consul Fabius hearing, immediately quitted his post, and flew to their assistance, with his brother Cæso, and such troops as he could confide in. Finding the Romans, disheartened at the loss of their leader, giving way, and ready to quit their post, he cried out; "Fellow-soldiers, have you for-

*Q. Fabius
killed.*

got

got your oaths? Will you shamefully fly back to the camp? Are you more afraid of the Hetrurians than of Jupiter and Mars?" Having uttered these words, he threw himself into the midst of the enemy; and being seconded by the troops he brought with him, obliged the Hetrurians to retire with great slaughter. In the right wing, commanded by Manlius, the Romans fought with great courage and resolution, till the brave consul, being wounded, was carried out of the field. Then his absence, and the report of his death, made a great alteration on that side. The Romans began to lose ground; when the consul Fabius, and his brother, appeared unexpectedly in the first ranks. They assured the desponding Romans, that the enemy's right wing and main body were put to flight, and that the consul Manlius was still alive. In consequence of this assurance, the troops returned to the charge, and would have gained a complete victory, if a new battle had not begun in another place.

The consul Manlius wounded,

A body of Veientes, in the heat of the action, attacked the Roman camp, which was guarded by a small number of troops, and were ready to enter it, when Manlius, wounded as he was, hearing of their danger, caused himself to be carried thither; but while, forgetful of his wound, he was defending, at the head of a small body of chosen horse, one of the avenues to the camp, his strength being quite exhausted, he fell from his horse, and, being surrounded by the enemy, was killed on the spot. His death was followed by the loss of the camp, the Romans who defended it being overpowered with numbers. The consul Fabius, who was still engaged in the plain, apprised of this event, wheeled about, and falling unexpectedly upon the Hetrurians, retook the camp; then, hastening back to the field of battle, completed the defeat of the enemy, who retired into their entrenchments in disorder. Thus the Romans gained the victory; but it cost them dear, one of the consuls, the surviving consul's brother, and a greater number of persons of distinction being killed than in any former action. The consul was so affected with the death of his brother, that, at his return to Rome, he declined the honours of a triumph, which had been decreed him while he was in the camp. He entered the city in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of his colleague and brother; and, mounting the rostra, made a panegyric on those two heroes, without saying any thing of his own exploits. Being now sole governor of the republic, he was afraid of countenancing the least appear-

and afterwards killed. The Romans gain a signal victory, chiefly by the bravery of the Fabii.

ance of monarchy ; therefore he abdicated the consulship two months before it expired, and, leaving the government in an interregnum, retired. This modest and generous behaviour gained him the hearts of the people ; so that from this time the Fabii became popular ².

Cæso Fabius advises the senate to put the agrarian law in execution.

The Roman people, assembling in the Campus Martius, chose Cæso Fabius the third time ; so that now the three brothers had enjoyed that office for seven years successively. The colleague whom the centuries gave him was T. Virginius. The new magistrates had no sooner entered upon their office, than Fabius, actuated by his increasing affection for the people, laboured to reconcile them to the senate. The demands of the people, relating to the distribution of conquered lands, and the refusal of the patricians, had been too long the source of divisions in the republic. The consul, therefore, before the tribunes had presented their annual petition on that head, exhorted the senators to prevent the complaints of the people, and end the daily disturbances, by making the distribution of those lands of their own accord. But Fabius was not heard ; some rallied him on his new zeal for the interests of the people ; others murmured ; and some even accused him of ambition. He was attended with success in his military expeditions ; the Æqui, who had committed great ravages in the Latin territories, he dispersed without the loss of a man ; and hastened to the relief of his colleague, who, being surrounded by the Veientes, without assistance, would have been obliged to surrender at discretion. Nor was this the only remarkable service that Cæso Fabius rendered the republic in his third consulate : the two consuls were scarce returned to Rome, and their armies disbanded, when the Heturians entered again the Roman territory, and made incursions even to the foot of the hill Janiculum, carrying off the cattle, and laying the whole country waste. The senate assembled to deliberate upon the means of putting a stop to these devastations ; but the people refusing to take arms till the agrarian law should be put in execution, the fathers were greatly perplexed. In this emergency Fabius formed a project worthy of his affection for his country : he assembled all the men of his own name and family ; and having communicated to them his design, which was, that the family of the Fabii should alone, and at their own expence, take upon them to secure the frontiers against the Veientes, they readily

² Dion. Hal. lib. ix. p. 562—570. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 44—47.

consented to the motion, and communicated their design to the fathers; by whom it was received with applause, and unanimously approved. Early next morning, those illustrious patricians, being in all three hundred and six, appeared under arms at the door of Cæso Fabius, and from thence marched through the city in good order, with about four thousand men, partly their vassals and partly their clients, all under the command of M. Fabius, who had last year gained the battle of Veii. The whole city ran in crowds to see them, and made vows to heaven for their preservation. They went out of the city at the gate Carmentalis, and, marching to the banks of the Cremera, now the Baccano, a small river which discharges itself into the Tiber, there built a fort in a steep place, surrounded it with a double ditch, and erected towers at certain distances. When the works were finished, they divided their men into four small bodies; one of these was left to guard the fort, while the other three marched into three several parts of the enemy's country, which they ravaged. Their first expeditions were attended with such success, that no husbandmen durst appear in the plains, or bring out their cattle^p.

The Fabian family undertake alone to guard the frontiers against the Veientes

Mean while Lucius Æmilius a second time, and C. Servilius, being elected consuls, Cæso Fabius, the last year's consul, obtained leave to join his family on the banks of the Cremera; but the conscript fathers, to gain him the more respect, created a new office, declaring him proconsul, a title which gave him the same power over the troops he commanded, as if he had been consul; but no other authority (I). The new consuls had scarce entered upon their office, when news were brought to Rome, that the Hetrurians were raising a formidable army, in order to fall upon the Fabii; and that the Æqui and Volsci had already invaded the country of the Latins. In consequence of this intelligence the consuls divided their army into three bodies: Æmilius led one against the Veientes; Servilius marched with another against the Volsci; and Sp. Furius the third, with the title of proconsul, advanced against the Æqui. The Volsci, being attacked by Servilius, repulsed him, and obliged him to

Cæso Fabius the first proconsul. Was with the Hetrurians, the Volsci, and the Æqui.

^p Dion. Hal. p. 570—583. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 48, 49.

(I) Livy does not mention the creation of a proconsul till the year of Rome 289, when he speaks of T. Quinctius Bar-

batus, as commanding the army of the republic against the Æqui in that quality.

*The Hetru-
rians en-
tirely de-
feated by
Æmilius,
who grants
them peace.*

keep within his camp, without attempting any thing else that summer. The Æqui fled at the approach of Furius, who laid waste their country. The Veientes, having received strong reinforcements from the other Hettrurian lucumonies, hazarded an engagement with Æmilius; but were entirely defeated, and forced to sue for peace. The consul, out of respect to the senate, referred the deputies to the conscript fathers; and they, in return, gave him full power to conclude a treaty upon what conditions he should think proper. Thus impowered, the consul granted them a peace, without demanding hostages, or requiring any thing more than two months provisions for his army, and money to defray the expences of the war for six months.

*The senate,
provoked
at his in-
dulgence,
resolve him
a triumph;*

This indulgence highly offended the senate, insomuch that they refused him a triumph. However, as he was an excellent commander, they promised to reward him according to his merit, on condition he relieved his colleague, who was blocked up in his camp by the Volsci. But Æmilius, piqued at the refusal he had met with, returned to Rome, and complained to the people of the proceedings of the senate, as if they were displeased with him because he had put too speedy an end to the war with the Veientes. "The patricians (said he) prolong the wars abroad with no other view than to put off the execution of the Cassian law, and the distribution of the conquered lands." He did not stop here; but, giving way to his resentment, instead of marching to the assistance of Servilius, he disbanded his army, and recalled Furius, who, as proconsul, was obliged to obey his orders^a.

*who, out
of pique,
disbands
his army.
The Ve-
ientes oblig-
ed by the
other lucu-
monies to
break the
treaty
made with
the Ro-
mans.*

Notwithstanding the peace concluded with the Veientes, the Fabii did not abandon their post, but continued on the frontiers to keep a people in awe, whose inconstancy, and inclination to break treaties, were well known. In the following consulship of C. Horatius and T. Menenius, the other Hettrurian lucumonies, offended at the separate peace the Veientes had made with Rome, summoned them to appear in the general diet of the nation; and there gave them to understand, that they must either break the treaty, or sustain a war with the other eleven lucumonies. The Veientes, reduced to this dilemma, chose the former part of the alternative; and accordingly sent to the Fabii, requiring them to demolish their fort, and quit the frontiers. The Fabii rejected the proposal

^a Dion. Hal. ibid, Liv. lib. ii. cap. 49.

with indignation ; hostilities were immediately renewed ; and all Hetruria espoused the quarrel of their countrymen. The Fabii continued to ravage the country, and often engaged the Veientes in the open field with their usual success, till they were at last surpris'd in an ambush.

The Veientes lodged a whole army of Hetrurians in a neighbouring wood, and posted centinels on all the eminences, to give them notice when the Fabii should fall from their fortrefs. Then they brought forth all their cattle and horses into a valley, under a small guard, as if they had no other design than to feed them. The Fabii immediately marched out in a great body, leaving no more men in the fort than were necessary to secure it from a surprize. They advanced in good order ; and the herdsmen, with their guard, flying on their approach, some of the Fabii pursued the fugitives, while others seized the cattle, and a small number of them continued drawn up in order of battle. The Hetrurians sallied out of the wood, surrounded the Romans on all sides, and cut in pieces those who were in pursuit of the booty. Thus environed, the Fabii, who had kept their ranks, formed into a compact body, which faced every way, quitted the plain, and gained an eminence, opening themselves a way with their swords through the enemy's forces. When they had got half way up the ascent, they fell into another ambush, and were encompassed anew, by a fresh body of Hetrurian troops, which had been posted in a wood near the hill.

The Fabii surpris'd in an ambush.

Though quite exhausted, they renewed the fight with great vigour, and at length gained the top of the hill. There they spent the night without any provisions, beset on all sides by an army of Hetrurians. Next day the Fabii, who were left to guard the fort, being informed of the danger of their relations, hastened to their relief ; but being attacked in the plain by a numerous body of the enemy, they were cut off to a man. Those who were on the top of the hill being now hard pressed by hunger and thirst, broke their way through the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers. The Hetrurians, surpris'd at their courage and intrepidity, in the heat of action offered to let them retire unmolested, upon condition they would throw down their arms, and give their word, that they would abandon the fort. But this they looked upon as a dishonourable proposal, and therefore chose rather to die with glory, than save their lives, by an action which they thought would reflect disgrace on their family. They re-

The miserable state of the Fabii. Surrounded on all sides.

newed the attack with such fury, that the Hetrurians were glad to avoid a close engagement; but keeping at a distance, showered from all parts darts and stones on those illustrious heroes. They sustained for some time this dreadful storm of missiles, and made repeated efforts to close with the enemy, who continually retired at their approach. At length the Hetrurians, perceiving that the swords of the Romans were, for the most part, broken, and their bucklers split in pieces, ventured to attack them man to man.

Yr. of Fl.

1873.

Ante Chr.

475.

U. C. 273.

*All the
Fabii
killed on
the spot.*

Then the Fabii, like men in despair, threw themselves, with incredible fury, into the midst of the Hetrurian battalions, and, snatching the arms of their enemies, fought them with their own weapons. The Hetrurians, thus pressed, were again obliged to have recourse to javelins and stones, with which those brave men were overpowered, and all killed on the spot. The enemy cut off their heads, and, carrying them in triumph on the tops of their lances, shewed them to the Fabii, who remained in the fort. At this sight they gave themselves up to despair, and, instead of defending the ramparts, sallied out upon the enemy, without observing any order, aiming at nothing but to sell their lives dear. These were likewise cut in pieces; so that, of the three hundred and six Fabii, not one escaped.

Rome expressed all the concern for those brave warriors that gratitude could inspire. The gate Carmentalis, through which they marched out of the city, was thenceforth called Porta Scelerata, or the *Accursed Gate*; and the day of their defeat was reckoned among the unlucky days, on which it was not lawful to begin any thing of consequence.

The consul Menenius, who had received orders to march against the Hetrurians, was but thirty furlongs from the field of battle, when the Fabii were cut off. But it was believed that he, out of jealousy, gave them up to destruction, when he might have easily advanced to their assistance. He afterwards encamped disadvantageously on the side of a hill, without securing the top of it; so that the Hetrurians, occupying the summit, attacked him from the higher ground, entirely defeated him, and made themselves masters of his camp. Elated with this victory, they advanced to the hill Janiculum, and posted themselves on the summit, whence they could

*The consul
Menenius
defeated by
the Hetrurians;*

see all that passed in the city, and observe what preparations were made against a siege. This their position obliged the senate to recall the consul Horatius, and the army which was appointed to act against the Volsci. The brave Horatius immediately ventured a battle with the Hetrurians near the gate Collina, the success of which was pretty equal; but in a second, near the temple of Hope, about a mile from Rome, he gained a victory, which revived the Roman courage, and secured the city. However, the enemy did not decamp from the Janiculum, nor quite lay aside their design of besieging Rome.

who, in their turn, are defeated.

At the same time a famine began to be felt in the city, occasioned by the incursions of the Hetrurians. The lands having been left unsown the last year, through fear of their ravages, and most of the barns of the country burnt or plundered, a great scarcity of corn ensued. The meaner sort of the people assembled in companies, threatening to plunder the granaries of the rich; and their clamours and mutinies were fomented by the tribunes, who did not fail to throw all the blame on the conscript fathers. On the other hand, the senators, to clear themselves, did all that lay in their power to relieve the people. They sent forth merchants to buy corn, fixed the price of it at a low rate, and ordered that none of the patricians should keep more in their granaries than was necessary for the maintenance of their families. But these wise precautions were only serviceable for a time. The Romans found themselves at last under a necessity either of starving, or driving the enemy farther off. They marched out therefore under the conduct of their new consuls, A. Virginus and P. Servilius; and, engaging the Hetrurians, gained a complete victory over them. But when by the dead bodies that were brought to Rome to be burnt, the senate saw how many Romans had perished in the engagement, they refused the consuls the honour of a triumph^s.

A famine in Rome.

The Hetrurians entirely defeated.

The departure of the Hetrurians restored plenty to the city, provisions being imported from all the neighbouring countries. But the people were no sooner delivered from the fear of a foreign enemy, than they renewed their complaints respecting the distribution of the conquered lands. As they could not enforce the execution of the Cassian law, they laid the whole blame upon the consuls, citing them before the assembly of the tribes as soon as the new consuls, C. Nautius and C. Valerius, were chosen. Thus

^s Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 51, 52.

*Menenius
accused be-
fore the
people, and
sentenced to
death.*

*The sen-
tence of
death
changed
into a fine.*

*He dies of
grief.*

*The ani-
mosity be-
tween the
patricians
and ple-
beians in-
creased.*

*Servilius
accused,
but ac-
quitted.*

Menenius, the son of the famous Menenius Agrippa, was accused by the tribunes of having connived at the destruction of the Fabii, and summoned to give an account of his conduct before a tribunal, where his most inveterate enemies were his judges. The patricians used the same arts they had practised in the affair of Coriolanus, to prevent his being tried by the people, but to no purpose; for the tribunes continued obstinate, and their obstinacy prevailed. Menenius was tried, not by the curiæ, but by the tribes, and almost unanimously condemned to death. But the senate soliciting earnestly in his behalf, the tribunes changed the sentence into a fine of two thousand ascs, that is, about five pounds of our money; a considerable sum at that period, when men of the first rank lived upon the product of their small farms, which they often cultivated with their own hands. This fine was indeed excessive, with respect to Menenius, whose father had left him no other patrimony but his glory. His friends offering to pay it for him, he rejected their generous offers; and being sensibly affected with the injustice and ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, shut himself up in his house, where he soon died of grief and hunger[†].

This melancholy accident greatly inflamed the animosity between the patricians and plebeians; the former, determining to keep no measures with the latter, openly declared that they would not suffer the Cassian law to be put in execution. On the other hand, the tribunes, more enraged than ever, omitted no opportunity of prosecuting the nobility. They took pleasure in humbling the patricians, and summoning the consuls, as soon as they had laid down their office, to appear before the tribunal of the people. Servilius, as we have observed above, had lost a great number of men in the engagement with the Hetrurians, when he drove them from the Janiculum. He had therefore scarce laid down the fasces, when a criminal process was commenced against him, for pursuing the enemy too far, and, by that indiscretion, exposing the lives of many citizens to unnecessary danger. But this was only a pretence for the prosecution. The real crime, both of Servilius and Menenius, was, their omitting to name the decemvirs for the partition of the lands. Servilius had too much confidence in the goodness of his cause, to beg the senate to intercede for him. He faced the danger boldly, and without changing either his habit or countenance, appeared before the assembly of the peo-

[†] Liv. lib. ii. cap. 51, 52.

ple, and made so judicious a defence, that he was unanimously acquitted.

In the following year, A. Manlius and L. Furius being chosen consuls, the former marched against the Veientes, who, at his approach, shut themselves up in Veii, where they were so distressed for want of provisions, that they sued for peace, and obtained of the senate a forty year's truce. Manlius, for this successful and unbloody expedition, was honoured with an ovation.

The Veientes obtain a forty years truce.

Peace abroad always produced intestine broils at home. The disputes about the distribution of the lands were revived by the tribunes; but the consuls, unshaken by their clamours and menaces, finished their year without having made any change in the situation of affairs. They had no sooner resigned the fasces to L. Æmilius, now the third time consul, and Vopiscus Junius, than Cn. Genucius, an enterprising tribune, cited them to appear before the people, accusing them of having neglected to name the commissioners, with a design to debar the poor citizens, and brave soldiers, of the share they had so well deserved in the conquered lands. He exhorted the people to do themselves justice; representing, that if they inflicted an exemplary punishment on those criminals, they might, by that vigorous step, oblige their successors to put in execution the Cassian law. Accordingly a day was appointed for their trial. These violent proceedings greatly alarmed the senate, who now perceived, that the tribunes aimed equally at their lives and fortunes; and that they had formed a design of destroying all the senators. They therefore had private meetings among themselves, and resolved to rescue Furius and Manlius, if they were condemned; as there was no want of hands to be hired for this purpose. As for the populace, they triumphed by anticipation, insolently boasting, that in opposition to all the artifices of the senate, the Cassian law should pass, and be sealed with the blood of those who had opposed it; but the day before the trial of Manlius and Furius, the factious tribune Genucius was found dead in his bed, without any marks on his body of violence or poison. He was carried into the forum, and, being exposed to public view, the common people concluded, that the gods did not approve of his enterprize; but the wiser sort entertained violent suspicions of the patricians^u.

New disputes about the distribution of lands.

The sudden death of the tribune Genucius.

^u Dion. Hal. lib. ix. p. 594—605. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 54. & Zonar. lib. ii.

The Roman History.

The haughtiness and imprudent behaviour of the consuls.

The consuls and senate, finding the tribunes confounded at the unexpected death of their colleague, and more at the effect it had upon the superstitious minds of the people, began to act in a very arbitrary manner, imagining they should now meet with no opposition. As there was occasion to raise an army, the consuls held their tribunal, as usual, in the forum; and there either fined, or caused to be scourged, those citizens, who did not appear when they were called to give in their names. Amongst others, they named P. Volero to lift himself as a common soldier. Volero, though by birth a plebeian, had been formerly an officer in the army; and, as he had behaved on all occasions with great valour, expected to be promoted, at least, to the post of a centurion. He, therefore, complained of the injustice of the consuls, and demanded to be restored to his former post, or to know for what fault he was degraded. The consuls sent a lictor to seize him; and, upon his making resistance, ordered him to be scourged. The lictor endeavoured to execute their sentence; but Volero, striking him on the face, declared, that he had done nothing which deserved that punishment, and, at the same time, implored the protection of the tribunes; but they, terrified at the death of Genucius, not daring to appear, he appealed from the consuls to the people, crying out to the multitude, "Assist me, Romans! it is your protection I implore: since our tribunes would rather see a citizen of Rome beaten with rods, than run the hazard of dying in their beds by the treachery of the consuls, we have no remedy left against the tyranny of the consuls but force." At these words the mutinous populace fell upon the lictors, broke their fasces, and drove them out of the forum.

A fray in the forum.

The consuls obliged to withdraw.

The consuls, being surrounded on all sides by the multitude, who pressed hard upon them, thought it advisable to withdraw, and retire to the senate-house as a place of refuge. On their retreat the tribunes, recovering their spirits, inspired the people with new fury, which was no longer levelled at the patricians in general, but only at the consuls. Those magistrates, in this sudden commotion, which threw all the city in an uproar, assembled the senate, and complained of the outrages committed by the people, contrary to the respect due to their dignity. Some senators advised that Volero should be thrown down headlong from the Tarpeian rock; but the more moderate among them did not think proper to put it to the trial, whether the anger of the senate, or the fury of the people, should

should prevail. The tribunes, on the other hand, demanded justice on the consuls, for commanding a Roman citizen to be scourged like a slave, after he had appealed to the people. While the plebeians and the consuls recriminated upon one another, Volero, in order to secure himself against the fury of the patricians, engaged the people to confer upon him the office of tribune, vacant by the death of Genucius; declaring, that, if he were invested with that dignity, he would take such measures as should deliver the people from being oppressed by the senate. The multitude, charmed with this hope, readily granted him their votes, and he entered on his office after the election of the new consuls, L. Pinarius and P. Furius *. Every one expected, that he would immediately begin a prosecution against the last year's consuls; but Volero soon discovered, that he had views far more extensive and important to the interest of his party, than mere personal revenge. Without dropping one word against the late magistrates, he endeavoured to lessen the authority of the patricians in general, by depriving them of the influence they had in the election of the tribunes. In a general assembly of the people, he proposed, that their magistrates and protectors might be chosen for the future in the comitia by tribes, and not by curiæ. In this proposal the subtle tribune had two views, very prejudicial to the patricians. In the first place, the curiæ were never assembled for elections, till the senate had consented to it by a decree. In the second place, the patricians, who commanded the suffrages of their clients, often got such tribunes elected as were agreeable to themselves: but neither of these inconveniencies attended the comitia assembled by tribes; for the tribunes had the power of assembling them, without the consent of the senate; and the country-tribes, who were not so devoted to the patricians as those in the city, had a right to vote in them, as well as the inhabitants of Rome. The plebeian faction was highly pleased with this proposal, and warmly declared for passing it into a law: but the consuls, the senate, and the whole order of the patricians, opposed it to the utmost of their power; so that Volero's law became the common and only subject of dispute between the two parties, the agrarian law being for some time entirely dropped. A dreadful plague suspended, for a few months, this furious contest; but it no sooner ceased, than the

Volero proposes a law for electing the tribunes in the comitia by tribes.

* Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. *ibid.* cap. 45.

tribunes resumed the prosecution of Volero's law. In the mean time this demagogue's tribuneship expiring, the people continued him in the same office for the following year, notwithstanding the opposition of the senate, and the whole patrician party *.

*Appius
Claudius
set up by
the patri-
cians
against
Volero.*

The patricians, finding the people determined upon carrying their point, had but one expedient left; which was, to set up against Volero a man, who was not to be terrified by the clamours and menaces of the multitude. With this view, they raised Appius Claudius to the consulship. He was the son of the famous Appius Claudius, who had so often signalized his hatred to the plebeians, and no less zealous than his father for the interest of the senate, but more obstinate and inflexible. As he thought himself but ill qualified to govern in a time of general commotion, he had absented himself from the comitia; but the patricians, acquainted with his steadiness and intrepidity, procured him to be elected, though absent, in the comitia, by centuries, in which they had great interest. They joined with him T. Quinctius, a venerable senator, of a sweet temper, who was beloved by the people, though looked upon as one of the chief leaders of the other party. The new consuls having convened the senate, to deliberate on the proper methods to hinder the publication of Volero's law, Appius, following the dictates of his natural severity, declared for raising an army, and sending the people to exhaust that martial courage abroad which rendered them untractable at home. But Quinctius was of a contrary opinion: he thought it unjust to make war upon nations that had given Rome no cause of complaint; and represented to the senate, that the people would soon be apprised of their design, and refuse to take arms; a refusal which would dishonour the consular authority, and produce a general flame. The opinion of Quinctius prevailed; but Appius, who could not endure the least contradiction, lived upon ill terms with his colleague all the rest of the year; a circumstance which greatly increased the affection the people had already conceived for Quinctius †.

*Volero
adds two
new ar-
ticles to
his law.*

The dissension between the consuls, and union of the tribunes, made Volero believe, that he should now get his law passed. He had even the confidence to add the two following articles to it; namely, that all affairs relating to the people should no longer be brought before

* Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 56.

† Dion. Hal. &

Liv. *ibid.*

the curiæ, but before the tribes; and that the ædiles, as well as the tribunes, should be chosen by them. There were but four tribes in the city, and seventeen in the country, which last were not influenced by the nobility; so that, in the comitia by tribes, the patricians had little interest. They therefore exerted their utmost endeavours to avoid a blow, which tended directly to destroy the authority of the senate, and to establish that of the people upon its ruins. When the senate met to deliberate upon these extraordinary proposals, Appius was for making a decree, to invite all those who loved their country, to take arms, and declaring those who refused to obey the summons, enemies to their country; but Quinctius, afraid of seeing Rome become a scene of blood, thought it advisable to try whether the people could be brought to their duty by gentleness and insinuation. The advice of Claudius was rejected as too violent, and even dangerous; and the more moderate counsels of Quinctius prevailed. The tribunes were desired to convene an assembly of the people, and to suffer the consuls peaceably, and without interruption, to represent to the people the true interests of the commonwealth; after which remonstrance, they might, in concert, agree upon such measures as should be most for the common good of the people and senate. The tribunes acquiesced in so reasonable a proposal. Quinctius, when the time came, mounting the rostra, made such an impression on the minds of the people, by his soft and insinuating eloquence, that Volero's proposal would have been rejected, if Appius, when it was his turn to speak, had not, by his imperious behaviour, his threats, and invectives against the people, and their tribunes, effaced the impressions made by his colleague.

The consul Quinctius softens the minds of the people;

who are again provoked by Appius.

Caius Lætorius, who was esteemed one of the bravest soldiers in the republic, and had, for that reason, been raised to the tribuneship, when the domestic broils were like to end in a civil war, answered the consuls; but, without taking any notice of Quinctius's arguments, insisted only on the invectives of Appius, which he retorted, and concluded thus: "But to what purpose do we fight with words against a wild beast? The sword is the proper weapon to be used in such engagements: the sword, perhaps, may make you sensible, that the Roman people are not so despicable as you think them. In the mean time, you shall experience the authority of those tribunes who are the objects of your contempt, but whom the

The bold speech of the tribune Lætorius.

*He orders
Appius to
leave the
assembly,
and to be
led to pri-
son.*

*A scuffle
ensues.*

*The people
seize on
the Capi-
tol.*

the law has made your judges." Upon this declaration, there was a profound silence; and Lectorius, raising his eyes and hands to heaven, swore by all that was sacred, that he would either get Volero's law passed, or perish in the attempt. Then, after having kept the people some time in suspense, turning to Appius, "I command you, said he, to leave the assembly." Appius despised his order, and told him, that, though a tribune, he was but a private man; and that his whole power consisted in forming an opposition to such decrees of the senate as were prejudicial to the plebeians. Then calling about him his friends, clients, and relations, who were very numerous, he prepared to oppose force with force. The tribune, having conferred hastily with his colleague, commanded one of his officers to seize Appius, and carry him to prison. Hereupon a scuffle ensued between the lictors of the consul and the officers of the tribune. The senators, the patricians, and the clients who attended Appius, placed him in the midst of them, and repulsed Lectorius, who advanced in person to assist his officers. Nothing was heard but confused cries, proceeding from mutual animosity. From reproaches they came to blows; but as arms were forbidden in the city, little blood was spilt in the fray. Quinctius, attended by some venerable senators, threw himself into the midst of the contending parties; and having found means to convey Appius out of the tumult, appeased the tribunes, and put an end to the dispute ^z.

Next morning, the people, excited by their tribunes, and especially by Lectorius, who had been wounded the day before, seized on the Capitol, which they fortified, and seemed resolved to begin hostilities. The senate being assembled to deliberate on means to quiet the sedition, Quinctius was for yielding something in favour of the people; whereas Appius could by no means be brought to make them the least concession. During this disagreement, which lasted several days, Quinctius, having often conferred with the tribunes, gained their consent to refer both their private and public complaints to the senate, and submit to the determination of the conscript fathers. He then convened the senators, and after having acquainted them with the good disposition of the tribunes, got a decree passed, importing, "That as the scuffle, which had happened a few days before, was not premedi-

^z Dion Hal. & Liv. *ibid*.

tated, but the effect of a sudden commotion, arising on both sides from a mistaken zeal for the republic, all injuries committed and received on that occasion should be buried in an eternal oblivion." As to the law in question, since Appius would by no means suffer it to be proposed to the assembly of the people, without a previous decree of the senate, it was agreed, that it should be referred to the senate, and that a decree should be made for that purpose. The affair was therefore disputed with great warmth, Appius calling both gods and men to witnesses, that the republic was betrayed, and that the senate were going to submit to a law more detrimental to their authority than those which had been formed on the Sacred Mount; but Quinctius prevailed upon the senate to yield to the people, and allow them to propose the law in their assembly, where it passed, and was unanimously received with great applause. From this period, therefore, the tribunes were made, and almost every thing relating to the people determined, not in the comitia by curiæ, but by tribes ^a.

*Volero's
law passes.*

Not long after this law was passed, the consuls were obliged to take the field. Quinctius marched against the Æqui, and Appius advanced against the Volsci. The former was so much esteemed and loved by his army, that the enemy, afraid to appear against troops so well affected to their general, shut themselves up in their cities, or lay concealed in the forests. The consul, having laid waste their country, returned with a great booty to Rome, where he was received with loud acclamations, and called the Father of his Soldiers, while Appius was styled by his men, the Tyrant of the Army; and indeed never was an army governed with more severity, or discipline exacted with more rigour. As his rage against the people was no longer under any restraint from the tribunes, he entirely gave way to it; the consequence of which was, that all the centurions and soldiers murmured at their general's orders, and even entered into a conspiracy, not against his life, but his glory; for they resolved, by agreement, not to oppose the enemy, lest their general should receive the honours of a triumph ^b.

*Yr. of Fl.
1879.
Ante Chr.
469.
U. C. 279.*

*War with
the Æqui
and Volsci.*

The Volsci, being informed of all that passed in the Roman camp, challenged the Romans to an engagement. Appius marched against them; but he was no sooner within reach of the enemy, than his men threw away

^a Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 57.
^b 606. Liv. *ibid.* cap. 58.

^b Dion. Hal. p. 605,

*Appius's
troops re-
fuse to fight.*

their arms, and, with one consent, returned to the camp. The Volsci took advantage of this confusion, and, having cut to pieces those who were in the rear, attacked the entrenchments; but the Romans, fearing the enemy might break into the camp, made a brave resistance, and repulsed the Volsci. The rash consul would have led them again to the enemy next day; but they loudly demanded of their officers to conduct them out of the enemy's country; and forced Appius to comply with their demand. As soon as the incensed consul entered the Roman territory, where he was out of the reach of the enemy, he summoned his soldiers to assemble. Being seated on his tribunal, he first upbraided them with their disobedience and treachery; and then, giving a loose to his resentment, he commanded the heads of the centurions, and other officers, who had abandoned their posts, to be struck off in his presence. Those who had borne the ensigns, and delivered them to the enemy, he caused to be beaten to death with rods; and the common soldiers were decimated. As the time of the comitia for the election of new consuls drew near, he led back to Rome the remains of his army, where he was received with the reproaches and execrations of the multitude^c.

*He punishes
them with
the utmost
severity.*

*The old
dispute of
the agrarian law
revived.*

The consuls chosen to succeed Quintius and Appius were L. Valerius, a second time, and Tib. Æmilius. When they had entered upon their office, the tribunes revived the dispute concerning the partition of the lands. Both the consuls were disposed to favour the people; Æmilius, from revenge to the senate, for having refused his father the honours of a triumph, when he returned from a successful war against the Æqui; and Valerius, to gain the good-will of the people, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by prosecuting Cassius during his quaestorship. As the consuls, by a decree of the senate passed in the consulate of Virginius and Cassius, were empowered to nominate the decemvirs, in order to make a new distribution of the conquered lands, the tribunes, being secure of the present consuls, brought the affair before the senate, where it occasioned long debates. Æmilius, the consul's father, who spoke first, proposed that the decemvirs should be named by the consuls, in order to proceed to the division of the conquered lands; which, said he, being public and common, ought to be for the equal benefit of all. But Appius opposed the

^c Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 59.

opinion of Æmilius with so much warmth, and strength of reason, that the senate rejected the proposal of the tribunes, though supported by both the consuls. The tribunes, enraged at their disappointment, resolved to destroy so violent an adversary; and cited him before the people, as a declared enemy to the public liberty. Appius, without changing his habit, as was usual on such occasions, or even suffering his friends to solicit the multitude in his behalf, on the day of the assembly appeared in the midst of his accusers with the same dignity as if he had been their judge. His accusation implied: 1st, That he had inflamed the senate against the people. 2dly, That he had raised seditions in the republic. 3dly, That he had caused a tribune to be struck, though the laws declared his person sacred and inviolable. 4thly, That he had sunk the courage of his soldiers by his severity, and suffered himself to be overcome by the Volsci. But he answered these several articles with so much strength of reason, that the people durst not condemn him. The tribunes, who were determined upon his destruction, fearing he would be acquitted, put off giving sentence to another day, under pretence that they should not have time to collect the suffrages. Appius, plainly foreseeing that he should fall a victim to the implacable hatred of those magistrates, prevented the disgrace of a condemnation by laying violent hands on himself. The tribunes endeavoured in vain to deprive him of such funeral honours as his merit and rank in the republic deserved: his son obtained leave of the consuls to assemble the people, and make, according to custom, his funeral oration; which the people heard with pleasure, shewing him more regard after his death, than they had ever expressed for him in his life-time ^d.

Appius cited before the people:

Heads of his accusation.

He kills himself.

Upon the death of Appius, the tribunes resumed the business of the agrarian law, which his prosecution had only suspended; but as they could not prevail upon the next consuls, T. Numitius Priscus, and A. Virginus, to name the decenvirs, the people, at their instigation, refused to appear at the election of the consuls for the next year, as if they intended to separate themselves once more from the body of the republic. However, the patricians, with their clients, raised to the consulate T. Quinctius a second time, and Q. Servilius, who, to prevent the breach from growing wider, employed the people

^d Dion. Hal. p. 606, 615. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 61.

The Sabines, the Æqui, and the Volsci defeated.

all that year in foreign wars. Servilius had great success against the Sabines, and Quinctius gained a complete victory over the united forces of the Æqui and Volsci, which was followed by the siege and surrender of the city of Antium. On his return to Rome, he was honoured with a triumph, and attended both by the senate and people, in his procession to the Capitol^e.

Fabius finds out an expedient to stop the complaints of the people.

The domestic dissensions were renewed in the following consulate of T. Æmilius a second time, and Q. Fabius, son of one of the three brothers who perished in the battle of Cremera. Æmilius, who had favoured the people in his first consulate, renewed his endeavours to get the Cassian law executed; and great disturbances ensuing, Fabius discovered an expedient to appease the people and patricians. He proposed to send a colony to people that pleasant and fruitful canton of the Volsci, which Quinctius had just conquered. His motion was received with great applause by the meaner sort of people; and three senators, namely, T. Quinctius the consul, A. Virginius, and P. Furius, were appointed to make the distribution of the lands: but when the plebeians were summoned to give in their names to those triumvirs, few of them appeared; nay, they began to change their style, and complain of the senate, who, they said, were sending brave men out of the country, because they opposed their oppressive conduct: the greater part, therefore, chose rather to stay at Rome, than leave it to take possession of the lands, for which they had raised so many disturbances. The games, the shews, the public assemblies, the hurry of business, and the share they had in the government, contributed to attach them to their old abode; and, notwithstanding their poverty, made them look upon a colony as an honourable banishment. The triumvirs, finding the people unwilling to quit Rome, were forced to admit of strangers to make up the number appointed for the colony. However, one advantage accrued from the refusal of the people, which was, that those who would not give in their names, were ever after ashamed to interfere in the affair of the partition of the lands^f.

The Æqui subdued.

Rome now enjoying profound tranquility, Fabius took the field against the Æqui, and obliged them to sue for peace; which was granted, on condition of their being subject to the republic. However, in the following consulate of Sp. Posthumius, and Q. Servilius, now a second

^e Liv. *ibid.* cap. 63.
lib. iii. cap. i.

^f Dion. Halic. p. 615, 626. Liv.

time consul, they began to stir again; and next year, when T. Quinctius a third time, and Q. Fabius a second time, were consuls, they renewed the war, and continued it under the consuls A. Posthumius and Sp. Furius. The latter, who was but a very indifferent commander, having rashly engaged the enemy, was defeated, and so closely besieged in his camp, that not a man could go out to give notice at Rome of his danger. However, the senate received advice of it; and resolved upon an expedient never used but in great extremity, which was, to give up the government absolutely into the consul's hands, by these words: "Videat consul, ne quid respublica detrimenta capiat: Let the consul take care that the republic suffer no detriment." Posthumius, who received this commission, impressed all who were able to bear arms, and gave T. Quinctius the command of the army, with the title of proconsul. As soon as Quinctius came within sight of the invested camp, the Æqui retired; but Furius had before made a sally, in which his brother, L. Furius, and two cohorts, had been surrounded by the enemy and cut in pieces. The consul now acted upon the offensive, and obliged the enemy to retire into their own country. Posthumius attacked a body of their freebooters, loaded with spoil, and made great slaughter of them. By these successes Rome was restored to its former tranquillity.

Quinctius obliges them to retire into their own country.

In the following consulate of P. Servilius Priscus and Æbutius Elva, a plague broke out in Rome, and swept away almost all the youth who were able to bear arms, the fourth part of the senators, the greatest part of the tribunes, and both the consuls. Upon the news of so general a mortality among the Romans, the Æqui and Volsci renewed their design of destroying the haughty republic. They began the campaign with committing hostilities in the territories of the Latins and Hernici, who immediately applied to the Roman senate for succours; but all the Romans could do was to give leave to their allies to arm and defend themselves, and to promise them assistance in better times. In consequence of this answer the Latins shut themselves up in their cities, leaving their country open to the ravages of the enemy. The Hernici took the field, and ventured an engagement, in which they lost a great many men, and were on that account, though the success of the battle was pretty equal, forced to confine themselves to their cities: so that the Æqui and Volsci, having now no enemy to oppose them in the field,

A dreadful plague at Rome.

*The Æqui
and Volsci
appear be-
fore Rome.*

*Distressed
condition of
the Ro-
mans.*

field, entered the Roman territory, and appeared unexpectedly before Rome. The two consuls being dead, and the few tribunes who were still alive, unable, on account of their bad state of health, to assist the republic either with their hands or their advice, the ædiles took upon them to maintain the dignity, and perform the functions of the consuls. Notwithstanding so many calamities, the Romans seemed to have lost nothing of their ancient steadiness. They crept to the ramparts, and appeared determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

The senators themselves mounted guard, and stood centinels. The city being well fortified on all sides, the Æqui and Volsci, more expert at plundering than carrying on a siege, laid aside all thoughts of making themselves masters of Rome, and marched towards Tusculum. In the mean time the plague continued to rage in the city. The dead were so numerous, that they were thrown into the Tiber without burial: so that the calamity becoming now greater than ever, the people turned their thoughts entirely to divine assistance; all made their vows upon the altars, and the matrons swept the temples with their hair, and continued prostrate in the presence of the gods, till, at length, a more wholesome feast put an end to the distemper, and delivered Rome from a calamity which threatened her with utter destruction. Several patricians had governed one after another during the interregnum, which had lasted from the death of the consuls; and now Valerius Poplicola, being interrex, assembled the centuries for the election of new magistrates, when Lucretius Tricipitinus and T. Veturius Geminus, were chosen consuls. In the beginning of their consulate, the tribunes, forgetting the miseries the city had suffered, undertook to renew the dispute about the division of the lands; but the people turned all their thoughts upon revenging the insults Rome had received from the Æqui and Volsci in the course of the preceding year. Even those citizens whom the laws exempted from going to war, insisted themselves for the service; so that two consular armies were immediately raised. It fell to the lot of Lucretius to march against the Æqui and Volsci, who had united their forces; and these enemies were overthrown in a pitched battle, with the loss of both their generals, and of thirteen thousand four hundred and sixty men; the most dreadful defeat they had ever received.

*The Æqui
and Volsci
entirely de-
feated.*

While the two consuls were thus employed in the field, a tribune of the people, named C. Terentius Arsa, took the opportunity of their absence to weaken the consular authority, exclaiming against the exorbitant power of the consuls; demanding that bounds might be set to it with regard to public affairs; and that invariable laws might be established for the consuls to be governed by, in deciding the contests that arose between man and man. He urged with great vehemence, that the consuls had all the despotic power of kings, and only wanted the name; and demanded, that a choice should be made of five of the best men in the republic, who should be authorised to restrain, within due bounds, a power so excessive; so that the consuls, for the future, might have no other authority over their fellow-citizens, than what those very citizens should think fit to entrust them with. The senators were all surprised at such bold proposals. Q. Fabius, who then governed the city in the absence of the consuls, immediately dispatched messengers, acquainting them with what had happened, and conjuring them to hasten back to Rome. He then convened the senate; and, after having enumerated the fatal consequences of such an innovation, prevailed upon the tribunes to desist from seconding Terentius in his first demand concerning the limitation of the consular power; but, as for the second, they still persisted in demanding a choice to be made, from among the senators and plebeians, of proper persons to form a body of laws for determining suits among the citizens. However, overcome by the intreaties of Fabius, they consented to suspend the prosecution of this affair till the arrival of the consuls.

Thus the city continued some time quiet; for the tribunes did not so much as mention the Terentian law, till the new consuls, P. Volumnius and S. Sulpitius were chosen; and then the whole college renewed their efforts to get the law passed. The people were often assembled to hear the harangues of the tribunes on this subject, and the senate as often convened to concert measures to oppose their designs. The factions, and blind zeal on both sides, increased to such a degree, that there was just reason to apprehend a civil war. The alarms which these dissensions gave, were increased by the dread which some pretended prodigies occasioned in the city. At the same time the Hernici, who were in alliance with Rome, gave notice to the senate, that the Æqui and Volsci were secretly arming; and that the new colony of Antium had

Yr. of Fl.
1887.
Ante Chr.
461.
U. C. 287.

*Terentius
Arsa pro-
poses the
establish-
ment of
fixed laws.*

*Great con-
tests on
this head.*

entered into that confederacy. This intelligence authorised the consuls to raise an army of citizens, as usual, whose absence would lessen the strength of the tribunes; but these magistrates of the people, pretending that this war was nothing but an artifice of the senate to send the citizens out of Rome, opposed the levies, and revived the demand of Terentius for compiling a body of laws. The contest ran high, and occasioned great disturbances. The consuls having caused a plebeian to be arrested, because he refused to give in his name, the tribunes rescued him from the lictors, and set him at liberty.

On the other hand the young patricians made great disturbances in the comitia, dispersed the people by violence, and, with their clamours, hindered the reading of the law, which was drawn up in these words: "Let the people, in lawful comitia, elect ten men of a mature age, consummate wisdom, and unspotted reputation, to draw up a body of laws, as well for the public administration as for the determination of private affairs: let these laws be fixed up in the forum; and let the annual magistrate, as well as other judges, be obliged to conform to them, in their decisions of the controversies which may arise in Rome." At length the tribunes gained their point of having this law proposed to the people; but when the day came for the comitia, by tribes, to determine the affair, the young senators and patricians, having Quinctius Cæso, the son of Quinctius Cincinnatus at their head, rushed into the croud, overturned all who opposed them, and dispersed the assembly. Cæso was a young man, tall, well-shaped, of an extraordinary strength of body, and had signalized himself, by actions of uncommon bravery, in several battles. His eloquence was not inferior to his strength and valour; for no patrician was heard with greater applause, or spoke with more dignity. He was always the first to answer the seditious harangues of the tribunes with great freedom.

These magistrates, therefore, enraged to meet with so much opposition from one man, conspired his ruin; and having agreed among themselves upon articles of impeachment, Virginius, the most zealous of the tribunes, caused him to be summoned before the assembly of the people. This affront rendered Cæso more violent in his opposition to the Terentian law; he reviled the plebeians, and inveighed with great bitterness against the tribunes. In the mean time Virginius still went on proposing the law, not so much out of any hopes that it would be received, as

to

*The con-
tending
parties
come to
blows.*

*Quinctius
Cæso cited
before the
people.*

to increase the fury of Cæso, and render him, by his violent and rash behaviour, more odious to the multitude. Accordingly the inconsiderate youth, supported by the senate, who flattered his vanity with their applause, supplied the tribunes with fresh matter of complaint, and waged, as it were, open war with them and their party. At length the day came, which was appointed for his trial, and then his courage failed him. He did not imitate the constancy of Coriolanus, but condescended to mean intreaties, and endeavoured to save his life by low and unworthy solicitations. He put on mourning, and, with a face of sorrow and humiliation, went about begging the favour of the lowest plebeians. The tribune Virginius opened his accusation; enumerated the violences which had been committed by the young patrician, and produced those to be witnesses against him whom he had personally insulted; but the chief crime laid to his charge, was his having hindered, by violence, the meeting of some judicial assemblies, legally called. The articles being exhibited, the accused was called upon to plead; but Cæso refused to own the jurisdiction of the assembly, offering, at the same time, to submit to the judgment of the consuls, his only lawful judges.

*His mean
behaviour
on his trial.*

This refusal incensed the people yet more against him; so that his father, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a man highly esteemed and respected by the republic, was obliged to undertake his defence. He denied the capital points in the charge; and, as to hasty words or blows, he excused them as the indiscretions of youth, which rather deserved pity than resentment. Then T. Quinctius Capitolinus, who had been thrice consul, Sp. Furius, and Lucretius, all appeared to witness his bravery in several engagements, and his other good qualities. The testimonies of so many illustrious men, and the intreaties of the father, made a sensible impression on the multitude: but Virginius, who was bent upon Cæso's destruction, frustrated the hopes of the patricians.

*His father,
L. Quinc-
tius Cin-
cinnatus,
undertakes
his defence.
Several
persons of
the first
rank ap-
pear in his
behalf.*

He rose up, and, addressing himself to Quinctius Cincinnatus, "The public (said he) does justice to your virtues, and the affection you have for the people; but, alas! how different is your son from you! His proud temper, and tyrannical conduct, make him unworthy of pardon. The education he has received under the eye of a modest and popular father, has not been able to abate his pride. Romans, what have you to expect from him for the future? What a pernicious example hath he given to the youth

*Speech of
the tribune
Virginius.*

who follow and admire him? If you, Quinctius, were ignorant of it before, yet, being to-day better informed of it, you ought to join your indignation to our's. If you were acquainted with his conduct, and did not correct him, you are not worthy of the favour you ask. But what am I saying? Your son's transports were certainly concealed from you; nor have you had any share in his attempts upon the authority of the Roman people, No, Quinctius; you are not to be blamed for any thing but being a better father than a commonwealth's-man; but, in order to efface in your heart those remains of tenderness which the people share with you, I beg that my colleague, M. Volscius, may be heard in what he has to offer, by way of private complaint, against your son. I hope the people will not leave unrevenge'd one of their own magistrates, who has been so great a sufferer by him." Then Volscius, ascending the rostra, to act the part that had been concerted between them, spoke to this effect. "Returning one night with my brother, from a friend's house, where we had supped, we met, hard-by the public stews, Cæso, accompanied, according to his custom, by several young patricians of the same character with himself, who, I suppose, had been making a debauch together in those infamous houses. They at first attacked us with abusive language, which I, indeed, was for taking no notice of; but my brother, less patient than myself, retorted their abuse. Then Cæso, full of anger and resentment, fell upon him, and, notwithstanding my prayers and intreaties, so beat and bruised him, that he expired upon the spot. This incident happened the year the plague made such havoc among us. I designed to carry my complaints to the consuls, but death deprived us of them soon after. L. Lucretius and T. Veturius, their successors, took the field in a hurry, and Cæso followed them. At their return I prepared to bring my action; but Cæso, hearing of my design, waited for me one night in a bye-place, and, falling upon me, repeated his blows to such a degree, that, to avoid my brother's fate, I was forced to promise never to mention the outrages we had both sustained.

*Cæso is
falsely ac-
cused of
murder.*

*Cæso in
great dan-
ger from
the people.*

The people were so exasperated at this fiction, that, without examining into the truth of the fact, they were ready to tear young Cæso in pieces; but Virginus, to give some appearance of justice to his villainous prosecution, interposed; and moved, that Cæso should be secured and imprisoned, till his crime could be fully proved,
since

since Volscius had not his witnesses at hand. This motion occasioned great debates, T. Quinctius representing to the assembly, that it was a thing unheard-of in the republic, that, upon a bare accusation, a citizen should be arrested, and carried to gaol; while Virginius maintained, that this precaution was necessary to prevent such an offender from escaping the justice of the people. After the question had been long debated, with great warmth on both sides, the tribunes took a middle way between Virginius's pretensions and those of the contrary party; which was, that Cæso should be set at liberty, provided he gave security for his appearance before the people on the day appointed. This resolution raised a new debate about the sum, in which the securities were to be bound; but the senate at last fixed the sum to three thousand ascs of brass, that is, about nine pounds thirteen shillings and nine pence of our money; and left it to the tribunes to declare how many citizens should be security, in case of his escape. They were content with ten securities, who bound themselves to produce Cæso on the day he was to be tried, or to pay the fine. This is the first time we read of bail given for appearance in public and capital cases. Cæso was no sooner at liberty than he left Rome, and retired into Hetruria; but the tribunes knew nothing of his escape till he was again cited to appear, when his friends endeavoured to prove to the people, that he had executed justice on himself, and anticipated their sentence of banishment, by going into voluntary exile. The tribunes, seeing plainly that this was only an evasion to avoid the payment of the fine, exacted it with more rigour: so that Quinctius, the father of Cæso, having sold the best part of his estate on that account, was forced to retire to a poor cottage on the other side the Tiber, where he cultivated, with his own hands, five or six acres of land, which were all he had left for his subsistence ^h.

Cæso retires into banishment.

The tribunes, believing that the banishment of Cæso would keep the young patricians in awe, called an assembly of the people, in order to propose the Terentian law, and get it approved by the tribes; but it was no sooner mentioned, than there sprang up, as it were, a thousand Cæsos, all opposing it with the same intrepidity. The tribunes ordered all the patricians to be driven from the assembly; but the nobility, uniting more closely after the prosecution of Cæso, opposed force by force; and, being

The patricians continue their opposition to the Terentian law.

^h Dion. Hal. lib. x. p. 627—634. Liv. lib. iii. cap. 9—14.

attended by a great number of their clients, made the tribunes feel the evil consequences of the sedition they had begun. The people were dispersed, and the tribunes obliged to save themselves by taking refuge in their own houses. Thus the law was hindered from passing at this juncture. The following year the senate and patricians, in conjunction, raised to the consulate Caius Cláudius, brother to Appius Claudius, who had killed himself, and P. Valerius a second time. The tribunes, seeing the whole body of the nobility united against them, and despairing to carry their point by a fair, open contest, combined together to destroy at once the better part of the senate, and such of the patricians as were most averse to their designs. In the first place they circulated reports among the people, that the patricians had in agitation some design fatal to the liberty of the public. Then, in order to prepossess the people with distrust of the nobility, they had recourse to the following contrivance.

The tribunes spread a report of a conspiracy formed by the patricians.

While the tribunes were sitting on their tribunal, a stranger came; and, having, in the sight of all the people, put into their hands a letter, disappeared in an instant, and was never afterwards seen. The tribunes read the letter to themselves; and, in reading it, affected an air of terror and surprize, in order to excite the curiosity of the people, and make them more uneasy. Then, rising from their seats, and causing silence to be proclaimed by the crier, Virginius, with looks full of consternation, addressing himself to the assembly: "Romans, (said he), you are threatened with the greatest dangers. If the gods, who are the protectors of innocence, had not discovered the wicked designs of your enemies, you had been all lost. But you must give us leave to acquaint the senate with the affair before it be divulged." Virginius having thus alarmed the multitude, repaired with his colleagues to the consuls, and the senate being immediately assembled, the tribunes were admitted. In the mean time, their emissaries spread a thousand false reports among the people about the contents of the letter. Some said, that Cæso was advancing towards Rome, at the head of an army of Volsci; others affirmed that the patricians had conspired to call him back, and, with his assistance, to destroy the tribunate; a third set confined the enterprize to the young patricians; and maintained, that Cæso was still in Rome, and would soon appear at the head of a numerous body, composed of patricians and their clients;

clients; thus the people's prejudices were kept up, and their hatred to the patricians artfully fomented.

The tribunes being admitted into the senate, Virginius addressed himself to the consuls and senators, in the following words: "Our discretion, conscript fathers, made us keep silence, while the misfortunes with which we are now threatened, were yet uncertain. To act upon bare conjectures against seditious men not yet discovered, is often giving a handle to factious spirits to raise insurrections: however, we have not been inactive upon our first suspicions; and our private enquiries have been effectual. We have been faithfully served by those foreigners, with whom we live in hospitality and friendship. Their letters will convince you, that the gods watch over the republic for its preservation. The symptoms we find at home agree with the accounts we receive from abroad. Rome is betrayed. Some of the most illustrious families in this city, and some even of the senate itself, are turned conspirators, and have sworn her destruction. Among the Roman knights there are assassins, ready to murder us. They wait only for the opportunity of a dark night to break into our houses, and massacre us, and all those among the people who shew any zeal for the public liberty. They take it for granted, that, after this barbarous execution, they shall easily obtain of you the abolition of the tribunate. Cæso, that Cæso whom they rescued from its just punishment, is the instrument of their fury. He is to appear within the walls, attended by numerous troops of Æqui and Volsci, who are to be brought hither privately, and in small parties. The tribunes are to fall the first victims to his resentment; and such of the people as shall dare to make any resistance, are to be sacrificed without mercy. These are our dangers; this is the crime of you patricians. What then is to be done? Ye immortal gods, who unite us in the same religious worship, inspire the senate with sentiments of equity; efface from their minds all regard to rank, birth, and party-interest! We conjure you, conscript fathers, not to abandon us to the rage of these assassins. In order to prevent their evil designs, we hope, you will not refuse a decree, empowering us to make farther enquiries into this conspiracy, and to secure the chief authors of it. Those who are most in danger, are most nearly concerned to avoid it, and will be most active in making discoveries. Time presses, and our assassins are at the gates. The least delay were dangerous. Who knows but this very night may be pitched upon for
the

*Virginius's
speech to
the senate.*

the execution of the bloody design? They must be conspirators themselves, who are against enquiring into the conspiracy."

The demand of the tribunes much embarrassed the senate: the more timorous were apprehensive, that a refusal would irritate the people, and raise a sedition; but those who had more firmness of mind, represented how dangerous it was to give the tribunes an unbounded power in an affair of a capital nature. The consul Claudius immediately penetrated their design, and explained the whole drift of their project. "This is the scheme of the tribunes. Speak, Virginius, (said he), tell us, whence came these letters, which have so much alarmed you? Who are those guests, and those faithful allies? How came they acquainted with the misfortunes which threaten you? Where is the bearer of this foul accusation? Why has he disappeared? Let us know who are the senators and knights named in the letter you produce. Surely we have time to hear the names of those great criminals. Shall we wait till you are made masters of our lives by a decree of the senate, and have it in your power to convict us of treason by false evidence? You say, the symptoms at home agree with the informations from abroad. Why do not you then shew us these symptoms? Why do not you produce the accusers? Could you possibly imagine, that the senate would deliver up our most illustrious citizens to your fury, upon a bare accusation by letter, without any kind of proof? To you, conscript fathers, to your indulgence, the bold attempts of the tribunes are to be ascribed. You were too easy in delivering up the brave Cæso to the rage of his persecutors. Their success against him encourages them to attempt every thing against us. My opinion is, that, if the state be in any danger, it is only from these seducers of the people, who, while they pretend to be defenders of the public liberty, are indeed its greatest enemies."

This speech confounded the tribunes: they withdrew with no less shame than fury; and, repairing to the assembly of the people, began to inveigh most bitterly against both senate and consuls. Appius, following the tribunes, ascended the rostra, and spoke to the people with so much energy and elocution, that the better sort were fully convinced, that the pretended conspiracy was only an artifice of the tribunes, to have it in their power to destroy their enemies. But the undistinguishing rabble continued in their first persuasion; and the tribunes took

great

The people convinced, that the whole was an artifice of the tribunes.

great care to maintain their apprehension, which gave them an opportunity of raising new disturbances in the state ¹.

The intestine broils of the republic encouraged a private man in Sabinia, named Appius Herdonius, to attempt the reduction of Rome. Having a great number of slaves and clients, he flattered himself, that he should be able, with their assistance, to reduce the Roman republic under his obedience, and make himself king of Rome. This bold design he imparted to his friends, representing to them, that it was not impracticable to surprise the city during the division between the people and the senate. Some of them, no less enterprising than himself, approving his undertaking, soon assembled about four thousand men, consisting partly of their own clients, but chiefly of slaves, outlaws, and men of desperate fortunes. This was indeed a small number for so great an enterprize; but Herdonius took it for granted; that a great number of Roman exiles, besides the Roman populace, who were greedy of plunder, and such citizens as were enemies to the patricians, the slaves, and also the Æqui and Volsci, would not fail to come to his assistance, upon the first news of his attempt. With these hopes, he embarked his troops on the Tiber by night, brought them down the river, and landed, before break of day, by the side of the Capitol. He ascended the hill without being perceived, and, under cover of the darkness, possessed himself of the temple of Jupiter, and the fortress adjoining. Thence he threw himself into the neighbouring houses, and put all those to the sword who refused to join his forces. Some, who had the good luck to save themselves before the Sabines entered their houses, raised an alarm in all the quarters of the city: nothing was heard but confused voices of people, crying out, "To arms! The enemy is in the heart of the city."

Herdonius, a Sabine, attempts the reduction of Rome.

Possesses himself of the temple of Jupiter.

The consuls, awakened by the noise, knew not whether this tumult arose from a domestic faction, or foreign enemy; and were therefore equally afraid to arm the people, or leave them disarmed. They contented themselves with giving arms to some on whom they could depend, and placing them in the forum, and at the gates of the city. The night was spent in doubts and uneasiness, neither the consuls nor the people knowing how many or what enemies they were to contend with. At length, the return of light

The consuls at a loss what to do.

¹ Dion. Hal. p. 634—643. Liv. lib. iii. cap. 15.

The tribunes cool the ardor of the people,

who refuse to take arms.

Valerius prevails upon the people to arm in defence of their country.

discovered who was at the head of so daring an enterprize. The consuls immediately repaired to the forum, and summoned all the citizens to take arms, and follow them; but the tribunes, mounting their tribunal, with their unseasonable harangues, cooled the ardour of the people: "We do not pretend (said they), to obstruct the public good; but, after all, Romans, this is the time for turning the service you are about to do for your country, to your own advantage. Before you take arms, insist upon a promise that the consuls shall not oppose the Terentian law; and do not expose your lives to evident dangers, till they have promised, upon oath, that as soon as you have retaken the Capitol, they will suffer it to pass. Why should you venture your lives, when you can draw no advantage from your bravery?" These words made such an impression upon the minds of the multitude, that neither the commands of the consuls, nor the danger with which they were threatened, could prevail upon them to take arms. The consul Claudius, full of indignation, proposed that the patricians themselves should attack the citadel: "The people (said he), would sell you their services too dear. The patricians, attended by their clients, and a few volunteers, are sufficient to drive away the rash Herdonius. Besides, we may borrow succours of the Latins and Hernici. Our slaves, if we set them at liberty, will lend their assistance. In short, any soldiers are better than refractory citizens, who refuse to relieve their country in its distress."

But Valerius, who was more moderate and popular than his colleague, observed, that, in the present circumstances, the senate ought not to refuse the multitude any thing that could induce them to take up arms immediately. The best part of the senators being of his opinion, he advanced into the midst of the people, and promised them, that as soon as the Capitol was retaken, he would not hinder the tribunes from proposing the law. The people, charmed with this promise, took arms, and solemnly swore never to lay them down without leave of the consuls. Then the consuls drew lots for the conduct of the attack, which fell to Valerius. Claudius was appointed to cover the city, and prevent any succours from joining Herdonius. Valerius, having drawn up his troops in the forum, marched to the attack with them, and a legion of Tusculans, which L. Mamilius, the supreme magistrate of that place, had sent, of his own accord, to the assistance of the Romans.

Herdonius

Herdonius sustained the assault with such courage and resolution, that the day was far spent before the Romans had gained any advantage over him. The consul Valerius, encouraging his men, by his example, to advance boldly, notwithstanding the showers of darts which were incessantly poured upon them, was slain at the head of the legionaries. P. Volumnius, who saw him fall, ordered his body to be covered, in order to conceal his death. He then took his place, and led on the Romans with so much bravery and conduct, that they carried the place before they missed their commander. Herdonius fought like a man in despair, who was resolved to sell his life very dear. Being of a tall stature, and great strength, he made a terrible slaughter of the Romans, disputing the ground inch by inch, till he was slain, after having lost the greatest part of his followers. Those who outlived their general, either fell upon their own swords, or threw themselves from the top of the Capitol. Thus ended this rash enterprize, in the destruction of Herdonius, and all his adherents^k.

The consul killed, and the Sabines driven from the Capitol.

Herdonius killed.

The city had no sooner recovered from its fright, than the tribunes called upon Claudius, the surviving consul, to perform his colleague's promise; but he deferred it, under various pretences; and at length refused to act in the affair, till a new consul should be elected in the room of Valerius. The day for the election being appointed, the senate, and the whole body of patricians, resolved to choose some senator of great merit, who should be capable of defeating the design of the tribunes, and keeping the people in awe by his authority. They fixed upon Quinctius Cincinnatus, the father of Cæso; who was accordingly elected by the first class, consisting of eighteen centuries of cavalry, and fourscore of infantry; so that there was no occasion for the inferior classes to give their suffrages. When the deputies, sent by the senate to acquaint Quinctius with his promotion, presented him with the decree of his election, the venerable old man was in doubt what resolution to take. He had retired, after his son's disgrace, into the country, and was so pleased with a rural life, that he preferred it to all the pomp of the consular dignity. However, sacrificing his private satisfaction to the love of his country, he left the plough, which he was driving when the deputies arrived, and consented to accompany them to the city: but he first took

Quinctius Cincinnatus consul.

^k Dion, Hal. *ibid.* Liv. lib. iii. cap. 18.

leave of his wife, and, recommending to her the care of his domestic affairs, "I fear (said he), my dear Racilia, that our fields will be but ill cultivated this year."

He reprimands both the senate and the people.

He no sooner entered upon his office, than he turned his thoughts upon reforming the senate, and restraining the insolence of the people, and their tribunes. In his first speech, he reprimanded both the senate and people with equal severity, without declaring himself for either party. He reproached the senate for feeding, with their continual compliance, the rebellious spirit of the people; and the tribunes for raising continual disturbances, and promoting an unbridled licentiousness among the populace: "Some seditious men (said he), reign in Rome with more insolence and tyranny than the Tarquins; but I shall take care to carry the people from those seducers. Know then, Romans, that my colleague and I have resolved to make war upon the Æqui and Volsci. We also declare, that our intention is to pass the winter in the field, without ever returning, during our consulate, into a city so full of sedition. We command all those, who have taken the military oath, to appear to-morrow, with their arms, at the lake Regillus." The tribunes answered, "That they would not suffer any levies to be made; and that, if Quinctius was determined to take the field, he might chance to go to war only with his colleague." The brave consul replied, "That there was no occasion for new levies, since the oaths the people had taken to Valerius, whose place he supplied, were still binding." The tribunes, to elude that engagement, affirmed, that, by the oath the people had taken to Valerius, they had not laid themselves under any obligation to Quinctius, who was then but a private man. But the answers of the tribunes seeming, even to those who were most nearly concerned, more subtle than solid, every one began to take arms, though very unwillingly. What still increased their uneasiness was, a report that the consuls designed to hold a general assembly on the banks of the lake Regillus, and there to annul whatever had been done in former assemblies for the advantage of the people.

Quinctius makes the tribunes desist from their prosecution of the Tarquinian law.

Quinctius farther insinuated, that, on his return, he would name a dictator, whose authority could not be curbed by the opposition of the tribunes. These reports, artfully spread abroad, struck terror into the tribunes and the people. The women and children, all in tears, conjured the principal men in the senate to intercede for them with Quinctius, and prevail upon him to suffer their husbands

bands and fathers to return to their homes at the end of the campaign. Quinctius seemed inflexible; and the people, seized with consternation even at the mention of spending the winter in the camp, became very submissive. At length, a kind of treaty was made between Quinctius and the tribunes: the former promised not to force the troops to winter in the field, nor even to march out of the city; and the latter bound themselves to make no proposal to the people concerning new laws. To these two articles was added a third; importing, that, for the future, neither consuls nor tribunes should be continued in their offices beyond the year. Quinctius, having thus restored tranquility to the city, applied himself to hear and determine private causes, and pronounced such equitable judgments, that the people, charmed with his conduct, seemed to have forgotten, that there were any such officers as tribunes in the republic ¹.

Notwithstanding the late agreement between Quinctius and the tribunes, the latter found means to be continued in their employments. Hereupon the patricians were for continuing Quinctius in the consulship; but he warmly opposed it, upbraiding the senators with their contemptible levity in being so ready to violate their own laws, and thereby countenancing the breach of them in the people. Before he retired to his farm, he presided at the comitia, when Fabius Vibulanus a third time, and L. Cornelius Maluginensis, were named consuls for the ensuing year. They had scarce entered upon their office, when news were brought to Rome, that Antium had revolted to the Volsci, who, together with the Æqui, had taken the field. It fell to the lot of Fabius to march against the Volsci, and he gained considerable advantages over them; while his colleague was attended with equal success against the Æqui, who, after having been defeated in the field with great slaughter, shut themselves up in the city of Antium. Cornelius laid close siege to the place, took it by storm, and ordered the chief authors of the revolt to be first scourged in the market-place, and then beheaded. The Æqui, being exhausted by their repeated losses, had recourse to the clemency of the senate, who granted them peace, upon the same conditions on which it had been formerly granted to the Latins: they were to continue in possession of their cities, lands, and laws, but under the dominion of Rome ^m.

*The Æqui
and Volsci
defeated.*

*Antium
taken.*

¹ Dion. Hal. p. 643—646. Liv. lib. iii. cap. 19—21. ^m Dion. Hal. p. 647—652. Liv. lib. iii. cap. 20—29.

*Volscius
prosecuted.*

*The prosecution
stopped by
the tribunes.*

*The consul
Minutius,
and his
whole army,
in
great danger.*

Yr. of Fl.
1891.
Ante Chr.
457.
U. C. 291.

While the consuls were thus employed in the field, the quæstors, A. Cornelius and Q. Servilius, men of great probability, began a prosecution against M. Volscius, for having borne false witness against Cæso. In virtue of the power annexed to their office, they convened an assembly of the people, and produced their evidences; of whom some deposed, that they had seen Cæso in the army on the very day when Volscius pretended he killed his brother at Rome. Others gave testimony, that Volscius's brother died of a languishing distemper, and that he never was out of his house after he was first taken ill. These facts were attested by so many persons of unquestionable credit, that there was no room left to doubt of Volscius's malice. But the tribunes, who had suborned that plebeian, put a stop to this prosecution, declaring, that they would not suffer the suffrages of the people to be gathered upon any affair whatsoever, before the Terentian law was promulgated. The senate, in their turn, made use of the like pretence, declaring, that they would not suffer the Terentian law to be proposed, till the business of Volscius should be determined.

These contests were spun out till the return of the consuls, who entered Rome in triumph, and soon after resigned the fasces to C. Nautius and L. Minutius, who were obliged to take the field, in the very beginning of their year, against the Volsci, who had revolted from the Romans, and against the Sabines, who, with a numerous army, committed great devastations in the Roman territory. The latter were routed by the consul Nautius, and forced to shut themselves up in their strong holds. But Minutius, by a stratagem of Cluilius, commander of the Æqui, being led into a valley, was there hemmed in on all sides, and in danger of being starved into a surrender at discretion. Some horsemen, having found means to make their escape in the night, carried the news to Rome: whereupon Q. Fabius, governor of the city, immediately dispatched a messenger to the other consul, to inform him of the danger to which his colleague was exposed. Nautius repaired to Rome in all haste; and having assembled the senate, all the fathers were for having recourse to the remedy made use of in their greatest calamities, which was, a dictator. Accordingly, the consul named Quinctius Cincinnatus for that high station, and immediately returned to put himself at the head of his army. The governor of Rome sent the consul's decree to Quinctius, who was found, as before, cultivating his small inheritance with his own hands.

When

When he saw the deputies, a train of attendants, and twenty-four lictors, with their fasces, advancing to him, he put on his robe, and going to meet them, "What tidings (said he), do you bring from Rome?" "Your country (replied the deputies), being in great danger, demands a dictator, and you are the only refuge Rome has in her distress." At these words he sighed; though sorry to quit his beloved solitude, he obeyed the orders of the senate, and having put on the habit of his new dignity, set out for Rome. The senate provided him with a boat, in which he crossed the Tiber, his three sons, his friends, and the chief men of the senate, receiving him at his landing, conducted him in triumph to his house, amidst the acclamations of the people. Next day, the dictator named for general of the horse L. Tarquinius. He was a patrician of uncommon valour; but not being able to keep a horse, had till then served in the infantry. The dictator, who had observed his gallantry and conduct in the campaign he had made under him, did justice to his merit, and, notwithstanding his poverty, raised him to that high station.

Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator.

The first order Quinctius issued was, that all the shops and tribunals should be shut up: then he commanded all the youth in the city and country to be, before sun-set, in the Campus Martius, each with twelve stakes, and provisions for five days. He then put himself at the head of these troops, and, before break of day, arriving at the enemy's camp, viewed their entrenchments as well as the obscurity of the night would allow him. Then, by a repetition of loud shouts, he gave the consular notice of his arrival. The signal was no sooner understood by the consular army, than, without waiting for day-light, they ran to arms, and fell upon the enemy, with another shout, which was heard by the dictator's forces. The Æqui first turned their arms against Quinctius, in order to prevent him from surrounding them; but being called back to repulse the consul, Quinctius seized that opportunity to fortify his entrenchments with a palisado made of the stakes his men had brought from Rome. These entrenchments served, at the same time, to shut up the enemy's camp; so that the general of the Æqui, named Gracchus Duilius, found himself at day-light in the same situation to which he had reduced the consul. Early in the morning, the dictator and consul attacked the enemy's camp at the same time with such vigour, that Duilius, fearing his lines would be forced sword in hand, had re-

Marches to the relief of the consul;

whom he relieves, and makes the Æqui pass under the yoke.

course to negotiation: he sent deputies to the consul, who referred them to the dictator. Quinctius, having heard their proposals, which were, to quit their camp, and retire without baggage, arms, or cloaths, sternly replied, that he did not think their death would be of any service to his republic; and therefore was willing to grant them their lives, but upon condition, that they delivered to him their general and chief officers, and submitted to pass, every man, without distinction, under the yoke, to imprint it deeply on their minds, that the Æqui were a nation conquered by the Romans. If they refused to comply with these conditions, he threatened to cut them all in pieces. The Æqui, being surrounded on all sides, and unable to sustain two attacks at the same time, submitted to what conditions the victorious enemy was pleased to impose. Two javelins were therefore fixed in the ground, and a third laid over them; and under this yoke all the soldiers passed, naked and unarmed. At the same time, they delivered up to the Romans their general and chief officers, who were reserved to adorn the dictator's triumph.

Their chief officers delivered up to him.

He degrades the consul Minutius.

His triumph.

Quinctius would not allow the troops of the consul Minutius to have any share of the spoil. He then obliged Minutius to lay down his office; a disgrace which the modest consul was so far from resenting, that he and his troops presented the dictator with a crown of gold of a pound weight, for having saved the lives and honour of his fellow-citizens. Quinctius, after this victory, returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph. Before his chariot were led the enemy's general, and a great number of officers in chains, who constituted the chief ornament of that procession. The dictator, having finished his expedition in less than a fortnight, was for laying down his office, and retiring to his solitude; but his friends prevailed upon him to continue in the dictatorship, till Volscius, the accuser of his son Cæso, was brought to his trial. Accordingly, he assembled the curiæ: the informer being convicted of calumny and bearing false witness, was, according to the law of retaliation, condemned to perpetual banishment, and Cæso recalled. This act of justice being performed, Quinctius abdicated the dictatorship the sixteenth day after his advancement, though he might have held that dignity six monthsⁿ.

ⁿ Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. lib. ii. cap. 28, 29. Flor. lib. i. cap. 11. Orof. lib. ii. cap. 12.

The abdication of the dictator was followed by new disturbances: Virginius was continued a fifth year in the tribuneship; Volscius was recalled from banishment, and reinstated in his office; the tribunes revived the dispute about the Terentian law; and, at the same time, the Æqui, though lately subdued, together with the Sabines, began to make their usual inroads, and lay waste the Roman territory. The two new consuls, C. Horatius and Q. Minutius, were ordered by the senate to raise troops, and march, without delay, against the enemy; but the tribunes protested, that they would not suffer one plebeian to give in his name, till the commissioners for making a body of laws, according to Terentius's proposal, should be named. An extraordinary assembly of the senate was therefore summoned, to deliberate on the present troubles; and Quinctius Cincinnatus recalled to make head against the tribunes. He was of opinion, that the whole senate, and the body of the patricians, with their friends and clients, should take arms, and hasten into the field. His advice was received with applause; even the oldest senators repaired immediately to their houses, took arms, and, attended by their clients and friends, appeared in the forum. The people, who flocked thither from all parts, being moved at this new sight, the consul Horatius exhorted all good citizens to join those illustrious senators, who chose rather to expose their lives to the utmost dangers, than to see Rome insulted by her enemies. Virginius, in the name of his colleagues and the people, answered, that the plebeians would not serve, till the Terentian law was accepted. On this occasion Horatius made a reproachful speech to the curiæ, shewing them the dismal effects which the seditious practices of their tribunes must at last unavoidably produce.

New disturbances in Rome.

The people refusing to enlist, the senate and patricians take arms.

His harangue made a deep impression on the minds of the multitude; which Virginius perceiving, thought it advisable to conform to the present conjuncture. Assuming therefore an air of moderation, he told the consul, that he was ready to desist from opposing the levies, nay, that he would himself exhort the people to take arms, provided the senate would grant one favour, which would be of great service to them, and in no respect detrimental to their authority. The consul desired him to speak his mind freely, assuring him, that he would find the senate ready to comply with any reasonable request in the behalf of the people. Then Virginius, having first conferred with his colleagues, replied, "All that the people request

*The people
allowed to
list.*

Yr. of F.
1892.
Ante Chr.
456.
U. C. 292.

*The tri-
bunes of
the people
increased
to ten.*

*A bold at-
tempt of
the tri-
bunes.*

request is, that you will suffer the number of the tribunes to be increased from five to ten. If you deny our request in an affair of so small importance, accuse yourselves only of the misfortunes the republic may suffer." This unexpected request divided the senate. Caius Claudius opposed it with great warmth, being governed by this hereditary maxim, that all the requests of the tribunes ought to be suspected. But Quinctius Cincinnatus, considering this affair in another light, was for granting the tribunes their request. He thought, that the more numerous the tribunes were, the more easy it would be to sow divisions among them. The opinion of this great man prevailed; and the senate passed a decree, giving the people leave to choose ten tribunes annually, provided they did not continue the same man in office above a year. Pursuant to this decree, the tribes were immediately assembled, and the two tribunes chosen out of each of the first five classes. The tribunes being thus satisfied, two armies were raised without opposition. Minutius marched against the Sabines, who fled before him, and retired into their own country. Horatius led his troops against the Æqui, retook Corbio and Ortona, which they had seized; and then both consuls returned to Rome, to preside in the comitia at the election of their successors.

In the following consulate of M. Valerius Laetucinus, and Sp. Virginus Tricostus, the tribunes, grown more audacious than ever by the increase of their number, proposed, that Mount Aventine, or at least such parts of it as lay uncultivated, or were not possessed by lawful owners, might be yielded to the people, who being now very numerous, began to want habitations. The consuls looking upon this new demand as a prelude to the revival of the agrarian law, and therefore deserring to convene the senate to debate it, Icilius, one of the tribunes, ventured upon an attempt never heard of before. He sent an officer to them, commanding them to assemble the senate forthwith. The messenger was, by the order of the consuls, severely beaten, and ignominiously driven away by one of the lictors. Hercupon the tribunes caused the lictor to be seized, and some were for putting him to death, for violating the sacred privileges of the tribuneship. The senate, to save him, had recourse to entreaties, but without success: they were obliged to come to a composition with the tribunes. The lictor was set at li-

• Dion. Hal. p. 652—680. Liv. *ibid.* cap. 30, 31.

berty; but Mount Aventine was, by a decree of the senate, yielded to the people. The senate soon found, that their compliance with the last demands of the people served only to encourage new pretensions. Icilius, the most enterprising of the tribunes, formed a design to bring the consuls themselves under subjection ^P. In the consulship of T. Romilius and C. Vetrurius, the tribunes were more factious than ever about the Terentian law. The consuls, knowing the republic would never be quiet at home, till she was engaged in a war abroad, resolved to revenge the inroads which the Sabines and Æqui had made the year before; but, in raising levies, they used so much severity, that the people appealed to their tribunes, who, taking the part of the complainants, endeavoured to rescue out of the hands of the lictors those whom the consuls had ordered to be seized, for refusing to answer when called upon. The consuls advanced to support the execution of their orders; but the tribunes, supported by the populace, not only repulsed them, but ordered their ædiles to seize those sovereign magistrates, and carry them to prison. So daring an attempt provoked the patricians to such a degree, that they fell upon the tribunes, beat them, and forced them to fly with their adherents.

*Mount
Aventine
yielded to
the people.*

*The tri-
bunes order
the consuls
to be
seized.*

*The tri-
bunes beat-
en by the
patricians.*

*The consuls
cited before
the tri-
bunes.*

Next day the tribunes assembled the people anew, and summoned the consuls to appear before their tribunal, to answer for what had happened the day before. The consuls scornfully refusing to obey the summons, the tribunes brought their complaints to the senate, and threatened to assemble the tribes, in order to judge the consuls, in case they did not appear to justify their conduct. The consul Romilius haughtily answered, that the tribunes had been the aggressors, and the sole authors of the tumult; and protested, that if they were so daring as to proceed a step farther in this affair, he would arm the whole body of patricians against them. The senate, thinking it equally dangerous to declare either for the consuls or the tribunes, broke up, without coming to any resolution. Icilius, finding that nothing was to be expected from the senate, convened an assembly of the people, in order to excite them to some vigorous resolution. Some of the plebeians were for taking arms, and retiring again to the Sacred Mount; others for proceeding against the consuls, and insisting upon their appearing before the people, or condemning them to death or banishment; but the most mo-

^b Liv. lib. iii. cap. 31.

derate advised the people to defer all proceedings against the consuls, till their consulate was expired, and, in the mean time, to prosecute, with the utmost rigour, those patricians, who had assisted them in the insult they had committed on the persons of the tribunes. Of these three different opinions, the tribunes chose to follow the second; and accordingly summoned the consuls to appear on the third market-day. This project, however, proved abortive; for Icilius declared, in the assembly of the people, that the college of tribunes, at the entreaties of the senate, forgave the consuls the personal injuries they had received from them, but could not neglect the interests of the people, and would therefore propose both the agrarian and Terentian laws to their consideration. He accordingly fixed a day for a new assembly, to deliberate upon those matters.

*The tribunes re-
new their
pursuit of
the agrar-
ian law.*

The time appointed being come, and the people assembled, Icilius made a long harangue in favour of the agrarian law; and then declared, that any plebeian might speak freely. Upon this intimation, many plebeians pleaded the right their services gave them to a share of the conquered lands, and made loud complaints of the patricians, who usurped what the plebeians had gained with their blood. This was the common complaint of the plebeians; but none represented it in stronger terms than one Sicinius, or, as Livy calls him, Siccus Dentatus. He was a plebeian, about threescore years of age, but yet in his full strength and vigour, of a handsome shape and mien, and not uneloquent for a man of his profession. He enumerated his exploits in war during forty years service; told the multitude, that he had been in a hundred and twenty engagements; that he had received forty-five wounds, and all before, twelve of them in that single action against Herdonius the Sabine; that for the last thirty years he had been always in command; that he had acquired fourteen civic crowns, for saving the lives of so many citizens; three mural crowns, for having been the first who mounted the breach in towns taken by storm, eight other crowns for different exploits, eighty-three golden collars, sixty golden bracelets, eighteen lances, twenty-five sets of furniture for horses, nine of which he had won from so many enemies conquered in single combat. "And these military toys (added he), are the only rewards I have hitherto received. No lands, no share of the conquered countries: usurpers, without any title but that of a patrician extraction, possess them. Is this to be endured?

*Sicinius
Dentatus
pleads
for it.*

endured? Shall they alone enjoy the fruits of our conquests? the purchase of our blood? No, plebeians, let us delay no longer to do ourselves justice. Let us this very day pass the law proposed by Icilius. If the young patricians oppose it, let our tribunes make them feel what is the extent of their authority." Icilius bestowed the highest eulogiums on Dentatus; but affecting to appear a strict observer of the laws, declared, that he could not with justice propose the law, till he had heard what the patricians alleged against it. Accordingly he adjourned the assembly to the next day.

In the mean time the consuls, having employed great part of the night in consulting with the chief men of the senate on the proper means to frustrate the designs of the tribunes, resolved to employ all their rhetoric to satisfy the people; but if they continued obstinately bent upon the publication of the law, in that case to hinder, by force, the collecting of the votes. This resolution being imparted to the patricians, they all repaired early in the morning to the forum, and dispersed themselves among the multitude in small parties. The consuls being come, the tribunes caused proclamation to be made by a herald, that whoever had any solid reasons to offer against the publication of the agrarian law, might lay them before the people. Several senators presented themselves, one after another; but they no sooner began to speak, than the populace rendered it impossible to hear what they said. The consuls protested against all that should be done in so tumultuous an assembly; but the tribunes, without listening to their remonstrances, commanded the urns to be opened, and the tablets to be delivered to the people, in order to vote. The young patricians, incensed at this presumption, snatched away the urns, and scattered about the tablets, on which the votes were written; and, throwing themselves at the head of their clients and friends, into the crowd, by force hindered the people from dividing into their respective tribes. The tribunes, having attempted to oppose the patricians, and keep the people together, were at length obliged to retire, and defer the promulgation of the law to another day.

*Resolution
taken by
the senate.*

*The patricians
oppose by
force the
passing of
the law.*

Early next morning the tribunes assembled the people; and, having demanded and obtained permission of the assembly to inquire after the authors of the late disorder, they resolved to turn the whole accusation against the youth of the Posthumian, Sempronian, and Clælian families, who had been the most active in the fray. It was then

*The estates
of some of
the young
patricians
confiscated.*

then customary in Rome to determine what punishment the accused deserved, in case he was convicted, before his crime was reported to the people. The tribunes, therefore, having assembled a certain number of the most considerable citizens, to determine the punishment they should inflict upon the ringleaders of the tumult, some voted for death, others for banishment; but Sicinius proposed the slightest punishment the laws enjoined, namely, the confiscation of their effects; and his opinion prevailed. The chief men of the senate, having consulted on this occasion, thought it advisable not to oppose the prosecution, hoping that the multitude, satisfied with this condescension, would drop the more important affair of the law. As for the loss of the sufferers, they resolved to repair it at their private charges. Accordingly, when the day came for the trial, the persons accused not appearing, were condemned in a fine for default, and their goods publicly sold to pay it. But the senate caused them to be bought up by private hands, and restored to the former proprietors¹.

*The Æqui
invade the
territory of
Tusculum.*

During these contentions, news were brought that the Æqui had made an irruption into the territory of the Tusculans, who were in alliance with Rome. The senate immediately decreed, that the consuls should take the field, and march to the assistance of those faithful allies. The tribunes did not fail to embrace this opportunity to raise new disturbances about the agrarian law, protesting, that they would not suffer the plebeians to take arms till the law was passed. But they were not seconded by the people, who, remembering the assistance they had received from Tusculum against Herdonius, readily gave in their names; so that two armies were immediately raised. Sicinius Dentatus was one of the first who joined the consuls, at the head of eight hundred veterans, who had all served the time prescribed by law, but were willing to make one campaign more under the command of so famous a leader. The consuls marched out of Rome in great state; but the Æqui, on the news of their approach, retired to their own frontiers, and encamped on a steep rock. The Romans pitched their camp not far from the enemy, and kept close within it, to conceal their strength, that the enemy might be tempted to offer them battle. Accordingly the Æqui, imagining the number of the Romans to be very small, descended into the plain, and there challenged the

*The consuls
march
against
them.*

¹ Dion. Hal, ubi supra.

Romans to an engagement. The consul Romilius, who commanded in chief, seeing the enemy thus confirmed in their false confidence, resolved to give them battle in the plain, and, at the same time, to attack their camp on the hill. With this view he sent for Sicinius, and, either out of esteem for so valiant a commander, or, what is more probable, with a design to expose him and his veterans, who were all plebeians, to the most imminent danger, gave him the charge of attacking the enemy's camp.

Sicinius, apprised of the danger of so desperate an attempt, spoke to this effect: "I never yet declined any dangerous enterprize out of fear; but give me leave to represent to you, that the execution of what you command, is not so easy as you seem to imagine. The rock is very steep on all sides, and not accessible but by a narrow way, which a handful of men may defend against a whole army. If you insist, therefore, on our making this attack, reinforce my detachment, and put us in a condition to shew our bravery, without dishonouring ourselves by a rash attempt." At these words the consul told him in great anger, that his business was to obey, and not to act the general; and then added, with a scornful smile, "This then is the brave man who has signalized himself in a hundred and twenty battles, who has been forty years in the service, and whose whole body is covered over with wounds! He recoils at the sight of danger, and has no courage but in words. Go, Sicinius, go to the comitia, and fight the patricians with your tongue. What you refuse to undertake others will put in execution." The brave plebeian, enraged at the general's reproaches, told him boldly, that he found he was resolved either to destroy an old soldier, or bring him to disgrace; that he had been always ready to sacrifice his life for his honour, and therefore would march up to the enemy's camp, and either gain it, or fall in the attempt, with all the veterans under his command. Then turning to them, "My dear fellow-soldiers (said he), let us go whithersoever honour and the command of our general call us. You will bear me witness after my death, that I was destroyed only for having defended with zeal the public liberty." His veterans took their leave of the rest of the soldiers, who looked upon them as men sent to slaughter.

But Sicinius, who perfectly understood the art of war, instead of following the narrow path which the consul had pointed out to him, led his men round, and, at length, entered

The gallant behaviour of Sicinius Dentatus.

*He enters
the enemy's
trenches.*

*The Æqui
routed by
the Ro-
mans.*

• entered a great wood that extended along the hills quite to the enemy's camp. There he met with a peasant, who conducted him to an eminence which overlooked the enemy's quarters. From thence he viewed the two armies, which were already engaged; and, at the same time, observed, that the soldiers, who were left to guard the enemy's camp, were all gone to that side which was next the plain, to view the battle. At this juncture Sicinius, with his veterans, entering the entrenchments without opposition, ordered his men to give a loud shout, and, at the same time, falling upon the Æqui, whose eyes were turned another way, struck them with such terror, that they abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmost confusion to the main body of their army. Sicinius pursued them close, made great slaughter of them by the way, and then, falling upon the rear of the main body, which was engaged with the Romans, quickly put an end to the conflict. The Æqui fled, and the consuls following them, killed above seven thousand in the pursuit. Sicinius, as soon as it was dark, retired with his veterans to the camp he had taken from the enemy. There, having put to the sword all the prisoners, killed the horses, and set fire to the tents, arms, and baggage, he marched, with all possible expedition, to Rome, with his victorious cohort, and gave an account to the tribunes of what had passed, begging that the honours of a triumph might not be allowed to generals who had abused their authority for the destruction of their fellow-citizens. The people, full of indignation, promised that they would never consent that the consuls should have a triumph; and, accordingly, when the generals returned from the campaign, the multitude refused to let them enter the city with the usual pomp on such occasions. The senate, fearing some new commotions, did not think proper to espouse the cause of the consuls; so that they returned without honour, and loaded with odium.

The two consuls had no sooner resigned the fasces to their successors, Sp. Tarpeius and A. Aterius, than they were cited before the assembly of the people. Sicinius, whom the people had raised to the tribuneship, took upon him the management of the prosecution against his enemy Romilius, whilst Allienus, one of the ædiles, accused Veturius. On the day appointed for their trial they both appeared, depending on the patricians, who had promised they would not suffer the suffrages of the people to be gathered. But Sicinius took such methods to prevent disturbances,

turbances, that they were both regularly tried for having offered violence to the tribunes, and disturbed them in the execution of their office; also for abusing their authority in the army, in order to destroy Sicinius and the eight hundred veterans of his cohort. The people fined them both, Romilius in ten thousand ascs, and Veturius in fifteen thousand *.

The last year's consuls tried by the people, and fined.

The tribunes, finding they could not bring the consuls to hear of the agrarian law, returned to the pursuit of the Terentian. The senate, to end the continual contests between them and the people, which they foresaw would at length make Rome become a prey to her enemies, began to hearken to the proposal of the tribunes; and declared, that they would not oppose the drawing up a body of laws which should be a guide to the magistrates, provided all the legislators were chosen out of the nobility. On the other hand, the tribunes insisted on having them chosen partly out of the nobility and partly out of the plebeians. On this occasion Romilius, to the great surprize of both parties, declared, with great warmth, for the establishment of fixed laws; and, at the same time proposed sending deputies to Athens, to transcribe the laws of Solon, and of the other lawgivers of Greece, in order to compile from them a body of Roman laws, which should be the rule for magistrates in all the parts of their administration. The opinion of Romilius was followed by the two consuls, and a great majority of the senators. But before the decree passed, the tribune Sicinius bestowed great encomiums on Romilius, protesting, that, for the future, he should ever be his friend. He went farther; and, as Romilius had not yet paid the fine, the tribune declared, that he remitted it in the name of the people. But as fines, according to the customs of those days, were always applied to religious uses, Romilius rejected this favour, protesting, that he would not defraud the gods of the money which belonged to them. A decree, conformable to Romilius's proposal being passed by the senate, and confirmed by the people, Sp. Posthumius, S. Sulpicius, and A. Manlius, were appointed to repair to Greece, and there collect the best laws and institutions of the Greek cities, especially of Athens. The quæstors ordered some galleys to be fitted out, and magnificently adorned, to give the Greeks an advantageous opinion of the Roman republic, with which they were yet entirely unacquainted.

The tribunes resume the pursuit of the Terentian law.

Are seconded by the late consul, Romilius.

The law at length passes. Three deputies sent into Greece to collect the best laws there.

* Liv. lib. iii. cap. 31.

*A plague
at Rome.*

On board of these galleys the deputies embarked, leaving Rome in the enjoyment of profound peace, which lasted all this year and the following, when P. Curvatus and Sextus Quintilius were consuls¹; but almost all Italy was afflicted with a plague, which swept away great numbers of citizens at Rome. Next year P. Sestius and T. Menenius, being consuls, the plague ceased, and the deputies returned from Greece. Upon their return, the people pressed the nomination of the ten commissioners, or decemvirs, for the great work of drawing up a body of laws. But the consuls Sestius and Menenius, being averse to the whole design, deferred the election under various pretences. At first they alleged, in excuse of their delay, that their successors, in whose consulate this great affair was to be settled, ought to be previously elected. This pretence hastened the election of the new consuls, when Appius Claudius, and T. Genucius were chosen before the usual time. Appius was the son of that Appius who had killed himself, and grandson of the first Appius. All the patricians gave him their suffrages, hoping he would rival his ancestors in zeal for the power of the senate.

*The tribunes apply
to the consuls for the
nomination
of the de-
cemvirs.*

After this election of magistrates, the tribunes applied themselves anew to the present consuls for the nomination of the decemvirs. But Menenius, pretending to be ill, kept at home; and Sestius declared, that he would not act in so important an affair without his colleague. Then the tribunes had recourse to the consuls elect. It now evidently appeared, that the Roman constancy, and zeal of the most rigid patricians for the interests of their body, was nothing more than a refined ambition; for Appius Claudius, who had hitherto valued himself on his immoveable attachment to the party of the nobility, and seemed to have derived it with his blood from his ancestors, changed his principles all at once, and joined the tribunes, in order to get the decemvirs appointed. His colleague Genucius followed his example, but with more moderation. Appius publicly undertook the defence of the popular faction; and, at the instigation of the tribunes, made an harangue in their favour, in a general assembly of the people. He there publicly declared, that the nomination of the decemvirs ought to be deferred no longer; and added, that if the election of himself and his colleague to the consulate were thought to be any hindrance to it, they were both ready to relinquish their pre-

*The consul
Appius
Claudius
joins the
tribunes.*

¹ Liv. lib. iii. cap. 32.

tensions to that dignity. Appius had in this conduct his private views; he expected, that, by the favour of the tribunes, he should be placed at the head of the decemvirs, and have in that quality a more absolute authority than if he had continued consul.

The next step was, to bring the affair before the senate. Menenius still pretended sickness; but Sestius was prevailed upon, by Appius and Genucius, to assemble the conscript fathers, and propose the nomination of those new magistrates, which did not pass without some opposition. The patricians did not find their account in establishing those laws, the authority of the consuls being much greater, while they continued to determine causes in an arbitrary manner. Many therefore among the senators were for adhering to the ancient customs: but Appius, who had a strong party in the assembly, maintained that it was highly reasonable, that laws should be established equally binding on all citizens, and equally favourable to all; adding, that such an establishment would end the domestic feuds, which had so long divided Rome, in some measure, into two cities. The opinion of Appius prevailed; and it was resolved, that ten men, venerable for their age and wisdom, should be chosen to compile a body of laws out of those that had been brought from Greece. It was likewise decreed, that these commissioners should, for one whole year, be invested with the sovereign power; that the authority of consuls, tribunes, ædiles, and quæstors should cease; that there should be no appeal from the decemvirs; and lastly, that, during their administration, they should be the sole judges of peace and war, and of all matters of justice. This is the first instance of suspending the tribuneship, which, as the tribunes were not properly magistrates, had hitherto been always preserved even under the dictators.

When the ten commissioners came to be chosen, a new difficulty arose. The tribunes demanded, that some plebeians should be admitted; but the senate opposing with great unanimity this pretension, the tribunes yielded, to prevent the nomination of the decemvirs from being dropped entirely; upon condition, that no alteration should be made by the decemvirs in two laws favourable to the people, namely, the Icilian, which gave the people ground on the Aventine to build upon, and that of the Mons Sacer, by which the tribunes were appointed to defend and protect the people against the oppressions of the patricians. These two articles being agreed upon, a solemn assembly

The consul Sestius assembles the senate to create decemvirs

The creation of decemvirs carried by a majority in the senate.

The tribunes consent to let them all be patricians.

was held of the whole Roman people, convened by centuries; and the auspices being taken, they proceeded to the election of the decemvirs. Appius Claudius, and his colleague T. Genucius, were the first named. To them were added Sestius the consul, who had laid this matter before the senate against his colleague's will; Sp. Posthumius, S. Sulpicius and A. Manlius, who had brought the laws from Greece; T. Romilius, the first who proposed that deputation; C. Julius, T. Veturius, and P. Horatius, all consulars, and men of great distinction.

S E C T. III.

From the Creation of Decemvirs, to the Burning of the City by the Gauls.

Yr. of Fl.
1897.
Ante Chr.
451.
U. C. 297.

*Decemvirs
created for
making
new laws.*

*They be-
have them-
selves
much to the
satisfaction
of the
people.*

THE chusing of decemvirs was almost as remarkable a revolution in the government of Rome, as that from kings to consuls. Nothing could be more moderate than the beginning of this joint reign of the decemvirs. They agreed, that only one at a time should have the fasces and the other consular ornaments, assemble the senate, and confirm decrees. To this honour they were to succeed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then resigning it to another. The rest, who were not actually exercising their authority, affected no distinction but that of guards, their habits differing very little from those of the other senators. They repaired every morning, each in his turn, to their tribunal in the forum; and there distributed justice with so much impartiality, that the people, charmed with their conduct, seemed to have forgot their tribunes. Appius was the most popular. He, who had been formerly a severe and inflexible magistrate, was now all affability and complaisance. He knew most of the citizens by their names, received them with respect, and saluted them with great marks of affection; insomuch that, from being the detestation he became the idol of the people, and was looked upon as a second Poplicola. Before the end of the year, each of the decemvirs presented to the people that part of the laws which he had compiled¹.

They were assisted in the interpretation of the Greek transcripts by one Hermodorus, banished from Ephesus,

¹ Dion, Halicarn. lib. x. p. 680—684. Liv. lib. iii. cap. 32—34.

his native city, and then accidentally at Rome. When the work was completed, the decemvirs assembled the people, and harangued them to this effect: "May the gods grant, that what we now present to you, Romans, may be equally agreeable and advantageous to the republic, to you, and your remotest posterity! Read the laws we have drawn up. We have used all the care and attention possible; but, after all, a whole nation must see farther than any ten persons: examine our laws therefore in private, make them the subject of your conversation; confer upon them, and consider what ought to be taken from them, and what may be added. Nothing that we have drawn up shall have the force of a law, till it is received with universal consent. Be you, Romans, rather the authors than barely the approvers, of laws which are to establish order and regularity, and to be the foundation of the happiness both of the senate and people." An address so modest and candid was heard with great applause. Immediately the laws were cut in ten tables of oak, fixed up in the forum, and all who came to start any difficulties about them, well received, and readily heard. When all necessary corrections and amendments had been made, the ten tables were carried before the senate, where they met with no opposition; so that a decree was passed for convening the centuries for their ratification. This assembly was soon after held, and the auspices being solemnly taken, the laws were first confirmed by the unanimous voice of the whole Roman people, and then transcribed on pillars of brass, and ranged in order in the forum, as the foundation of all judicial determinations, with regard to public and private affairs ^u.

The decemvirs propose the tables of laws;

which are approved by the centuries assembled.

As many eminent men in the republic were of opinion, that several regulations, which would fill two other tables, were necessary to be added to the ten already established, the continuation of the decemviral government for one year more was proposed in a general assembly of the people, and approved of by the senate and people with equal readiness, but for different reasons. The senators were glad to be uncontrolled by the tribunes, and the people extremely desirous to postpone the restoration of the consular dignity. Never was any office so much solicited by the gravest and wisest senators, as the decemvirate at this time. Those patricians who were formerly the de-

The decemviral government continued for one year.

^u Dion. Hal. Liv. *ibid.* Cic. *Tusc.* v. 105. Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 642. Plin. *ibid.* cap. 5.

clared enemies of the people, and who scorned to canvass for public offices, were now wholly taken up in flattering and courting the meanest of the citizens. Appius, though a decemvir, forgetting his dignity, debased himself more than any of the candidates. He was perpetually seen in public places, with those who had been formerly tribunes, and whom he knew to be agreeable to the people. By their means he recommended himself to the multitude, as the author of the happiness they enjoyed under the mild government of the decemvirs. But Appius himself, when asked by the patricians, whether he desired to be continued in his office for the next year, affected to dislike it, and was continually talking of the uneasiness that attends public employments. His colleagues saw into his designs, and wisely formed their judgement of him by his actions, and not his words. They observed, that he availed himself of his popularity in order to lessen the most venerable senators in the esteem of the people; that he excluded all men of known merit from standing at the approaching election, by artfully defaming them among the multitude; and that, contrary to the pride of the Claudian family, he affected great affability and moderation. All these particulars in his conduct gave great uneasiness to his competitors, and rendered him suspicious to his colleagues. These latter therefore formed a design to disapprove him. When the time of the comitia for the creation of the new decemvirs, drew near, they appointed Appius to preside in them; for the president in these assemblies proposed to the people the persons who stood for the office in question; and it had never yet been known, that any one had nominated himself.

The ambitious views of Appius.

Second decemvirate.

Appius, president of the assembly, names himself the first.

Three plebeians chosen at the election of Appius.

But Appius, contrary to all the rules of decency, proposed himself for the first decemvir; and the people readily gave him their suffrages. The other persons he named were all men at his devotion, and such as he favoured. The first of the number was Q. Fabius Vibulanus, who had been three times consul, a patrician indeed of a character hitherto unblameable. After him were chosen five other patricians; namely, M. Cornelius, M. Sergius, L. Minutius, T. Antonius, and M. Rabulcius, all men little esteemed in their own body, but in great favour with Appius. But what most surprised the senate was, that Appius, out of complaisance to the people, proposed three plebeians for the decemviral dignity; namely, Q. Petilius, Cæso Duilius, and Sp. Oppius. These, though excluded by their birth, and by a late

agreement

The Roman History.

agreement between the patricians and plebeians from this supreme magistracy, were, by a plurality of voices, added to the number of the decemvirs. Several men of known probity and moderation had offered themselves for candidates, only to exclude those whose behaviour gave cause to suspect them of some ill designs. But these Appius, who presided at the election, did not so much as name, lest the people, who were well acquainted with their merit, should prefer them to his creatures *.

Claudius, seeing himself once more at the head of the decemvirs, threw off the mask, and turned his thoughts wholly on making his domination perpetual. As he governed his colleagues with absolute sway before they began to exercise their office, he inspired them with his own sentiments. They had private meetings every day to deliberate on the proper means of perpetuating themselves in that dignity. Above all things, they thought it necessary, and agreed to establish a good understanding with one another. Appius, at their head, directed all their proceedings. From that time they appeared reserved and mysterious, suffered few persons to come near them, and had no intercourse but with those of their own body. This close union and confederacy of ambitious men made the senate apprehensive, that the decemvirs for the ensuing year would behave themselves very differently from their predecessors. When the ides of May came, and the new decemvirs made their first appearance, the Romans were greatly surprised to see each appear in the forum early in the morning, with twelve lictors bearing axes among their fasces, like those that were anciently carried before the kings, and afterwards before the dictator: so that the forum was filled with a hundred and twenty lictors. This was a dreadful sight to Rome, the people prognosticating from thence, that this would be a year of tyranny and injustice. And they were soon made sensible, that their fears were not groundless. The decemvirs began to reign imperiously, and with a despotic power. They were always surrounded, not only by the numerous train of their lictors, but also by a crowd of desperate men, loaded with debts, and guilty of the blackest crimes. Many young patricians, preferring licentiousness to liberty, made their court to them in the most abject manner, in order to screen themselves from justice, and escape, by their favour, the punishment due to their crimes. No

*The dec-
virs re-
solve to
perpetu-
themselves
in that
vername*

*and reign
imperiously*

* Liv. lib. iii. cap. 35—37.

man's life or property was any longer safe. The young patricians, supporters of the ten tyrants, were not ashamed, upon the most frivolous pretences, to take possession of their neighbours estates; and when application was made to the decemvirs for redress, the complainants were treated with contempt, and their complaints rejected. An inconsiderate word, or an expression of concern at the remembrance of their ancient liberty, was a capital crime. Some of the chief citizens were scourged, for complaining of the present administration; others were banished, and some even put to death, and their goods confiscated. The new tyrants vented their fury chiefly upon the people, treating them more like slaves than Roman citizens. As for the patricians, most of them, dreading the tyranny of the decemvirs, gave way to the storm, and retired into the country for the remaining part of the year. They hoped that the tempest would cease with the annual power of the decemvirs *.

*Two new
tables of
laws added
to the ten.*

At length the ides of May, the time fixed for holding the comitia, in order to elect new magistrates, drew near; but the decemvirs, instead of assembling the people, proposed two new tables of laws, the first relating to religion, and the worship of the gods, the second to marriages, and the right of husbands. These made up the number of the Twelve Tables, which the Romans preserved ever after as a sacred depositum. Notwithstanding the hatred the public bore to the decemvirs, they found little to object to their laws; the last only, forbidding patricians and plebeians to intermarry, seemed an artful invention to keep the two parties always divided, that they might reign with more security. In the mean time the ides of May passed, without a comitia for the election of new magistrates. The tyrants then shewed themselves openly, and, in opposition to the senate and people, retained their power without any other title than possession and violence. All who gave them umbrage were proscribed; and many worthy citizens, retiring from their country, took refuge among the Latins and Hernici. The people, groaning under so cruel a tyranny, applied to the senate as their only refuge. But the senators, instead of comforting them, took pleasure in seeing them oppressed, and bearing a great share in the misfortunes they had occasioned. When any plebeian complained to them, they maliciously referred him to Claudius, that idol, whom they had set up,

The tyrannical government of the decemvirs.

* Liv. lib. iii. cap. 38.

and preferred to so many illustrious defenders of their country. C. Claudius, concerned to see his nephew become the tyrant of his country, went several times to his house, with an intention to reprove him, and remind him of the glorious examples left him by his ancestors. But Appius, guessing his errand, constantly eluded him, by giving orders to his domestics, that none should be admitted but the supporters and partners of his tyranny.

In the mean time, the Sabines and Æqui, hearing of the weak condition of the republic, and disdaining to live subject to a city which had lost her own liberty, invaded the Roman territory, and advanced within a few miles of Rome. This unexpected invasion alarmed the decemvirs. It was necessary to make head against the enemy; but the difficulty was, how to raise an army, when the people were dissatisfied with their governors. In this perplexity they resolved to assemble the senate, and endeavour to prevail with the conscript fathers to interpose their authority, and make a decree for legal levies. The people were surprised to hear a proclamation made in the forum for the senators to meet. "We are indebted (said they), to our enemies for the appearance of this single spark of our ancient liberty." But when the decemvirs repaired to the senate, they found none but their own creatures there. The others had retired to their country-seats; and thither the decemvirs sent messengers, summoning them to appear on a day appointed. Most of them obeyed the summons, and returned to Rome, but with views very different from those of the usurpers.

Appius, in a studied harangue, represented the danger which threatened the republic from the Sabines and the Æqui, and desired a decree for levies without delay. He had scarce finished his speech, when L. Valerius Potitus rose up to speak, without waiting till it came to his turn. He was the grandson of the famous Valerius Poplicola, and son of that Valerius who was slain at the head of the Romans, fighting against Herdonius the Sabine. Appius, apprehending he was going to propose something contrary to the interest of the decemvirs, sternly commanded him to sit down, till senators, older than himself, and more considerable in the republic, had declared their opinions. But the brave Valerius, despising his command, complained of his pride and insolence, in presuming to impose silence upon a senator, contending for the liberty of the

The Roman territories invaded by the Sabines and the Æqui.

They convene the senate to obtain a decree for the levying of troops.

L. Valerius opposes the decemvirs;

† Dion. Hal. lib. xi. p. 684—725. Liv. lib. iii. cap. 38, 42.

commonwealth : he laid open the conspiracy they had all formed against the republic ; and called upon Fabius, one of the decemvirs, as a man of justice and probity, to undertake the defence of his oppressed country, telling him, that on him chiefly the senate turned its eyes. Fabius, overwhelmed with shame and confusion, made no answer. But Appius, and the other decemvirs, starting up from their seats in a great rage, surrounded Valerius, and obliged him to be silent. Such an extraordinary insult raised a tumult in the assembly, most of the senators being provoked at the haughty behaviour of the decemvirs, but none more than M. Horatius Barbatus, the grandson of that Horatius who had been consul with Poplicola.

and is seconded by M. Horatius Barbatus.

As he was an intimate friend of Valerius, and animated with the same zeal for liberty, he could no longer bear the insolence of Appius, and his colleagues ; but standing up, called them the Tarquins, and tyrants of their country. “ What hinders us (said he), from immediately executing the same vengeance on the new Tarquins, which our ancestors took on the former tyrants ? To restore liberty to Rome, is an hereditary honour in the families of the Valerii and Horatii. It is not the name of a king that makes a tyrant.” He was proceeding in this strain, when the decemvirs, surrounding him, drowned his voice with their clamours, threatening to have him thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, if he did not instantly hold his peace. But when they perceived, that the senate in general expressed uncommon repentment at their tyrannical proceedings, they repented of having imposed silence upon those who were inclined to speak. Appius, when the tumult was appeased, declared to the assembly, that it was not the intention of the decemvirs to prevent, by any violence, the conscript fathers from delivering their opinions ; but that it was necessary to conform to the ordinary method, which was, that every one should speak in his turn, and confine himself to the subject proposed. He added, that whatever Horatius might imagine, the commission of the decemvirs was limited to no period but that of the establishment of the laws ; that they would not lay down their office till the twelve tables were settled in due form ; and that then they would give an account of their administration. “ But till that be done, (continued he), we will steadily maintain and execute the offices of consuls and tribunes, which are united in us. Then turning to his uncle, C. Claudius, he desired him to speak with freedom concerning the Levies. But he, without

without confining himself to that subject, in a long harangue, imputed all the misfortunes of the state to the usurpation and tyranny of the decemvirs; exhorted the senators to insist on their being deposed; and, in a very pathetic strain, urged his nephew to abdicate an authority which was become intolerable to a free people. Appius disdained to give his uncle any answer; but M. Cornelius spoke for him; and applying himself directly to C. Claudius, "We do not want your advice (said he), to direct our conduct: if you would give particular counsels to your nephew, go to his house: the only affair in question here is the war with the Sabines and Æqui: tell us, in plain terms, your opinion concerning the levies."

C. Claudius reproves his nephew Appius with great freedom.

Claudius rose a second time; and, turning to the senate, "Since my nephew (said he), will not condescend to speak to me, either in his own house, or in full senate, and I am so unhappy as to see the tyrant of my country arise out of my own family, I declare, conscript fathers, that I am resolved to retire to Regillus. I banish myself from Rome, and make an oath never to enter it again, unless our liberty be restored. However, to fulfil the obligation I lie under, of giving my opinion with relation to the present business, I am for coming to no determination concerning the levies, till consuls are chosen to lead them." His opinion was followed by Quinctius Cincinnatus, Quinctius Capitolinus, and L. Lucretius, all consular persons, and by the chief men in the senate. L. Cornelius, in an harangue which he had concerted beforehand, with his brother M. Cornelius, one of the decemvirs, imputed the enmity of the old senators against the decemvirate to envy, and private resentment, for having been themselves disappointed in their endeavours to obtain that office. He urged the danger of losing time in disputes about new magistrates, when the enemy was almost at the gates of Rome; and represented, that it was impossible to come to a new election in less than twenty-seven days, during which, the city might be besieged, and reduced to the utmost extremity. His speech was highly applauded by the creatures of the decemvirs; and even some of the oldest senators were for granting levies, hoping, that, when the war was finished, the abdication of the decemvirs would quietly follow of course, and the government revolve into the hands of the consuls. Appius, seeing with pleasure, that the majority were for granting him, and his colleagues, a power to raise levies, asked, for form's sake, the opinion of Valerius, on whom he had imposed silence in the be-

He retires from Rome.

The most eminent senators declare against any levies of troops till the consular ship is restored;

but the levying of troops is carried by a majority

ginning of the assembly. Valerius, rising up, proposed the creating of a dictator, an expedient which had been so successfully practised on many occasions. All the senators, who had spoke after Valerius, declared for this motion, as did also many of those who had before voted for the continuation of the decemvirate; and a warm dispute arose, with much clamour and tumult. Appius, taking advantage of the disorder, stepped forth into the midst of the assembly, and exclaimed aloud, that the suffrages had been gathered, and that the opinion of Cornelius had prevailed. He then ordered the decree of the senate, which he had brought with him ready drawn up, and which empowered the decemvirs to raise troops, to be ready in the assembly; and, immediately dismissing the senators, withdrew^z.

*Many of
the sena-
tors retire
from Rome.*

The authority of the decemvirs being now more formidable than ever, the most timorous among the citizens became as submissive and complying as the tyrants could wish; others sought an asylum in the country, or among the neighbouring nations. Appius, enraged to see the best men in the republic abandon the city, placed guards at all the gates to prevent their escape. But finding that this precaution only increased the number of the malcontents, and fearing a general revolt, he removed the guard, and left every one free to retire: but, to be revenged on those who withdrew, he confiscated their effects, or bestowed them on his ruffians and partisans. As for Valerius and Horatius, they staid at Rome; and, having assembled in their houses a great number of their clients and friends, to secure them against the violence of the decemvirs, held private assemblies to concert measures for restoring liberty to the commonwealth.

*Their
estates con-
fiscated by
Appius.*

*The decem-
virs march
against the
Æqui.*

In the mean time the decemvirs raised ten legions, the people, destitute of their tribunes, being forced to list themselves. Q. Fabius, with two other decemvirs, Q. Petilius, and M. Rabuleius, marched against the Sabines, at the head of three legions. M. Cornelius, L. Minutius, M. Sergius, T. Antonius, and C. Duilius, all decemvirs, led five legions against the Æqui. Appius and Oppius remained with two legions in the city, to keep in awe the domestic enemy, more formidable to these magistrates than the Sabines and Æqui. The people, of whom the legions were composed, regretting the loss of their liberty, would not conquer; but suffered the enemy to gain

^z Dion. Hal. Liv. *ibid.*

great advantages over them, and, at last, feigning a sudden fright, dispersed in the night, and returned into the Roman territory. Appius did not fail to send recruits and provisions to his colleagues, exhorting them to keep the soldiers in awe by the terror of punishments, or, in case that severity might be dangerous, to destroy, by private means, the most mutinous; and he himself set them an example ^a.

The Roman soldiers suffer the Æqui to gain great advantages over them.

The famous Sicinius Dentatus being returned from the camp, filled the city with his complaints against the decemvirs, exaggerating the faults they had committed in the management of the war. Appius sent for him, discoursed with him several times, and, desiring him to speak with freedom, examined him concerning the conduct of the decemvirs. Sicinius, without reserve, blamed the proceedings of Fabius and the other generals. Appius, pretending to admire his wisdom, prevailed upon him to assist Fabius with his advice; and, to deceive him the more effectually, he dignified him with the character of envoy or legate, which not only gave him the authority of a general, but made his person sacred and inviolable. As true valour is a stranger to jealousy and distrust, the brave Sicinius embraced the opportunity of serving his country, and repaired to the camp with all speed; where the decemvirs, instructed by Appius, received him with outwards marks of great joy; and consulted him, soon after his arrival, on the operations of the campaign. Sicinius advised them to remove their camp into the enemy's country, for many reasons, which he explained. Fabius accordingly commissioned him to view the situation of the country, and mark out the ground for a new encampment. He appointed him a hundred chosen men, light-armed, to be his guard; but this guard consisted only of ruffians, who had secret orders to dispatch him. Sicinius, not suspecting the least treachery, led them into the narrow passes between the mountains; and there they took the opportunity of falling upon him when he could not make his escape. The brave veteran, perceiving their design, drew his sword, and set his back against a rock, that he might not be attacked behind; then, summoning all his valour, he laid fifteen of the assailants dead at his feet, and wounded above thirty more. The base assassins, now no longer daring to close with him, stood at a distance, and discharged their darts at him; which he avoiding

Sicinius Dentatus fills the city with complaints against the decemvirs.

^a Liv. lib. iii. cap. 48.

He is treacherously murdered.

His murder discovered; the soldiers disposed to a revolt.

Appius Claudius, the decemvir, falls in love with Virginia.

with great dexterity, some of them, climbing up to the top of the rock, from thence overwhelmed him with stones. Having thus accomplished their infamous aim, they went back to the camp, where they reported, that they had been attacked by the enemy, and that Sicinius had been killed in the action.

But when the soldiers, who marched to bring off the body of Sicinius, came to the place of the pretended battle, they observed, that the slain were all Romans, and that they lay unstripped with their faces towards him. This circumstance made them suspect, that Sicinius had been murdered by his guard; and raised loud complaints, and a general discontent throughout the camp. The whole army, in the greatest fury, demanded that the assassins might be brought to justice; but the decemvirs facilitated their escape, and caused the body of Sicinius to be honourably interred, lest the soldiers should convey it to Rome, and there raise new disturbances. The discontent which so odious a treachery produced in the army, rose to such a height, that the greater part of the soldiers began to think in earnest of throwing off the yoke, and restoring their country to its ancient liberty ^b.

Appius, as we have observed above, remained at home, with a body of troops, to keep the city in awe, while his colleagues marched against the Sabines and Æqui. As he one day repaired to his tribunal, he observed a young virgin of extraordinary beauty; and was captivated by her charms. It was then customary at Rome for young persons of both sexes to pursue such studies as were proper for them, in public schools erected in the forum; and in one of these it was that Appius first saw this beautiful young woman. As his office obliged him to appear frequently in the forum, this severe magistrate was observed to stop when he passed by the school of the young virgins, and view some object with marks of uncommon pleasure. The person, who thus drew his attention, was the daughter of L. Virginius, famous for his probity and valour. Though he was a plebeian, he made a considerable figure in the troops, and had led several detachments in the present war with the Æqui, as commander in chief. His daughter's name was Virginia. Her mother, Numitoria, being dead, her father Virginius, upon his departure for the army, committed her to the care of an uncle by her mother's side, who expressed for her all the affection of a

father. She was marriageable; and Virginus had promised her to Icilius, who had been tribune of the people. In the mean time the decemvir, conceiving a violent passion for her, resolved at all adventures that it should be gratified. He would willingly have married her; but he had a wife already, and, though divorces were allowed by law, yet there had never been any instance of a husband's exerting this power. Polygamy was strictly forbidden; besides, Appius had passed a law, prohibiting all marriages between patricians and plebeians; so that he had no room to hope the accomplishment of his wishes, but by debauching the young maid. He therefore endeavoured to corrupt, with large presents, and great offers, Virginia's nurse or governess. But she rejected his offers with the utmost indignation, and kept a more watchful eye over her charge than ever.

He endeavours, in vain, to corrupt her nurse.

The amorous tyrant had recourse to another stratagem, the execution of which he entrusted to M. Claudius, one of his clients, an infamous wretch, fit for any villainous enterprise. This minister of the decemvir's passion, taking with him a band of profligate fellows, entered the school where Virginia was, and, seizing her by the arm, declared that she was the daughter of one of his slaves, and therefore belonged to him. As he was carrying her to his house, with all the authority which the law gave to a master over his fugitive slave, the people flocked about him, and, touched with so moving a sight, obliged him to set her at liberty. Claudius, finding he could not execute his first design, cited her to appear before the decemvir; and she, by the new laws, was obliged to follow him to the tribunal. Appius, being alone upon the bench, was just ready to adjudge her to the claimant, as his lawful slave, when the people cried out with one voice, that Virginia's relations ought first to be heard. Appius dared not refuse to suspend the sentence till some of the prisoner's relations appeared. The first who came was Numitorius, the uncle of the young woman, attended by a great number of his friends and relations. Upon his arrival Claudius renewed his claim, founded on a lye concerted between him and the judge: he pretended, that Virginia was born in his house of a slave belonging to him; and that her mother had given her to Numitorius, the wife of Virginus; and that Numitorius had imposed the child upon her husband, and made Virginia pass for his daughter. He added, that he would soon produce undeniable testimonies of what he advanced; that, in the mean

He contrives a stratagem to get her into his power.

mean time, it was but just a slave should go with her master; and that he would give security to produce the young woman, when Virginus, her pretended father, returned from the war. Numitorius represented, that it was unjust to dispute a citizen's right to his child, when he was not present to assert it; adding, that Virginus, who was now serving his country in the camp, would not fail to be at Rome in two days; and that it was reasonable her uncle, who had the care of her person, should, in the mean time, be the guardian of her honour. This demand, he said, was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that while the law-suit was depending, the plaintiff should not disturb the defendant in his possession.

Appius artfully eludes the law.

This law Appius eluded, by artfully observing, that, in the present dispute, there were two circumstances which altered the case. "Here (said he) are two persons claiming; one as a father, the other as a master: if the pretended father were present, he, indeed, ought to be allowed the possession; but, he being absent, the person who claims her as his slave ought to be preferred to any other, provided he gives good security to produce her again at the return of the person who is called her father." On this principle he ordered Virginia to be put into the hands of Claudius. The iniquity of the judgment incensed all who were present. The women, who surrounded Virginia, made such outcries, that they were heard at a great distance. They surrounded, and seemed resolute to defend her. At that instant Icilius, to whom she had been promised in marriage, arrived, and, breaking through the croud, forced his way to the tribunal. A licitor endeavoured to oppose his passage, exclaiming, that sentence was already passed. But nothing could stop the impetuous lover: he took Virginia in his arms; and, addressing himself to Appius, "No, Appius, (he cried), nothing but death shall separate me from Virginia. Add my murder to the many crimes with which thou art already polluted. Assemble all thy licensors, and those of thy colleagues, I will defend her honour to my last breath. Have you deprived us of the protection of our tribunals, only to subject our wives and our daughters to violation? Proceed to exercise your rage upon our estates and lives; but spare the chastity of our virgins. If any attempt be made upon the honour of Virginia, I call the gods to witness, that it shall not go unrevenge. What will not Virginus be able to do in the army, and Icilius among the people, when the one is to revenge the cause

Icilius, to whom Virginia had been promised in marriage, spirits up the people.

cause of an injured wife, and the other of a dishonoured daughter?" While he thus gave vent to his indignation, the lictors were ordered to drive him away, and to seize Virginia.

But the people, moved with his misfortune and courage, fell upon the officers of the decemvir, dispersed them, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal. Appius, seeing the people much incensed against him, called his client to him, whispered in his ear, and then, having caused silence to be made, "It is not (said he) the fury of the violent Icilius, which makes me comply, but the entreaties of Claudius, my client. He is willing to give up the right he has to carry home his slave, and to commit her to the same hands in which she was before. At his request I will wait for Virginus' return till to-morrow. Let his friends take care to give him notice. If Virginus does not appear at the time appointed, I would have Icilius know, that I shall not want any assistance from my colleagues to put my decree in execution." When he had thus decreed, Claudius desired that Icilius might give bail for producing Virginia the next day; and this was given accordingly, all the people then present offering eagerly to be his security. Icilius and Numitorius immediately dispatched messengers to bring Virginus from the camp. Appius, at the same time, sent a courier with orders to the generals to put him under arrest: but the other messengers were more expeditious. Virginus, upon notice of his daughter's danger, had left the army, and was so fortunate as to escape two parties, which were sent, one from the camp, and the other from the city, to secure his person. He appeared next morning in the forum, leading his daughter, in deep mourning, attended by a great number of matrons of distinction. He addressed himself to his fellow-citizens, and uttered his complaints with an air of dignity, which seemed rather to demand than implore assistance. Icilius broke into the throng, inveighed loudly against Appius, and endeavoured to transfuse his own resentment into every breast: but the silent tears of the women, who attended Virginia, affected the multitude more than any words that could be uttered.

Appius was greatly surprised to hear that Virginus was in the forum. Full of rage, he repaired thither, and ascended his tribunal, surrounded by a numerous crowd of his dependents and creatures. Claudius spoke the first, renewed his claim, and produced the slave, whom he had suborned to declare, that she was the mother

The officers of the decemvir dispersed.

Virginus, the father of Virginia, is sent for from the camp.

He arrives at Rome.

ther of Virginia, and that she had sold her to the wife of Virginius. Several other witnesses appeared to attest the same fact, all gained with great promises by Appius, and his client Claudius.

The imposition of Claudius made manifest.

The friends and relations of Virginia urged the little probability of Numitoria's imposing a child upon her husband. He had married her, when she was very young, and was almost of the same age with her. Virginia was born soon after the marriage. "Where was the necessity then, (said they), for Numitoria's practising such a fraud as is pretended? Besides, if she had proved barren, and had designed to introduce a stranger into her family, why should she have chosen the child of a slave rather than of a free woman? Why a girl, when she might as easily have had a boy? Besides, was it probable, that a contrivance, carried on by so many persons, should continue so long a secret? Would not the slave have made her court to her master, as soon as Numitoria was dead, by discovering a secret to him, which would have put him in possession of a young woman well educated, and of extraordinary beauty? Why was this mystery kept undiscovered till Appius was decemvir, since the slave, for a long time past, could have no interest in concealing it?" To these presumptions Virginius added undeniable proofs, and brought some of the most considerable women in Rome, who deposed, some that they had seen Numitoria when she was big with child; others, that they had assisted at her labour; nay, divers individuals declared, that they had seen her suckle young Virginia, which she could not have done, had she been barren, as Claudius pretended.

Appius makes himself a witness in the affair;

Appius, observing that these unanswerable proofs made a great impression upon the multitude, interrupted the evidence; and commanding silence, signified, that he himself had something to say. All the people listened with attention, being anxious to know what he could object against so many witnesses of unquestionable credit. He then spoke to this effect: "I must acquaint you, Virginius, and all who are present, that this is not the first time I have heard of this affair. Claudius's father revealed the secret to me at his death, when he made me his son's guardian. Afterwards I examined into the matter, and found it to be true. However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this nature; and therefore left it to my pupil to recover his right, or to agree with the parties concerned, when he should come of age. But now that the cause is brought before me in judgement,

ment, being obliged to give sentence according to my own personal knowlege, I declare, both as judge and witness, that the young woman belongs to Claudius ; and my sentence is, that she be delivered up to him as his property." Virginius, provoked to the highest degree at so unjust and cruel a sentence, was no longer master of himself. He trembled with rage, and, with a menacing air exclaimed, " Infamous wretch, I never designed my daughter for thee ; I educated her for a lawful husband, and not to be a prey to a lustful ravisher. Must then brutal passions among us take the place of honourable marriages ! How the citizens here will bear with these things, I know not ; but I trust, that the army will revenge my wrongs." At these words the people set up a loud cry of indignation, as if they were determined to oppose the execution of Appius's decree. But the decemvir, having first cast his eyes on all sides, to observe his strength, and how his friends were posted, told the multitude, with a threatening voice, that he was not unacquainted with the plots that had been laid to cause an insurrection ; but that he neither wanted power nor resolution to inflict exemplary punishments on such as should offer to disturb the public peace. " Let every one, therefore, (said he), retire to his own house, and none presume to give law to a supreme magistrate. As for you, Claudius, (added he), seize your slave, and make use of my guard to disperse the crowd." At these words, uttered with an imperious tone, the multitude fell back ; and left Virginia standing by herself, a helpless prey to injustice and brutality.

*and decrees
Virginia to
his client.*

The unfortunate father, seeing there was no other remedy, drew near Appius, and, in a suppliant manner, addressed him thus : " Pardon, Appius, the unguarded words, which have escaped me in my first transports of grief ; and allow me to ask, in the young woman's presence, some questions of her nurse, that I may carry home at least the comfort of being set right in this matter." Appius readily granted his request ; while Virginius, taking his daughter in his arms, and wiping the tears, in which she was all bathed, drew near to some shops, which were in the forum. There he snatched up a butcher's knife, and, turning to Virginia, " My dear daughter, (said he) this is the only way to save thy liberty, and thy honour. Go, Virginia, go to thy ancestors, whilst thou art yet a free woman, pure and undefiled." With these words he plunged the knife into her heart ; then drawing it out,

*Virginius
addresses
Appius in
a suppliant
manner.*

*He, to save
the honour
of his
daughter,
slabs her.*

recking

*The city is
in great
commotion.*

reeking with her blood, and turning to Appius, "By this blood, (he cried), I devote thy head to the infernal gods!" The decemvir immediately ordered him to be seized; but he, with the knife in his hand, made his way through the crowd, rushed out of the city; and, mounting his horse, took the road to the camp. In the mean time Numitorius and Icilius, staying by the dead body of Virginia, and shewing it to the people, raised a great commotion in the city. As for Appius, he seemed to have quite lost his reason; instead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he retired to his own house, and from thence sent his lictors to seize Icilius, and carry away the dead body. But the people opposed the execution of his orders, and, falling upon the lictors, broke their fasces, and drove them out of the forum.

*The decem-
vir is
obliged to
retire.*

Notwithstanding this repulse the decemvir had the boldness to come in person, attended by a chosen company of young patricians, to support his authority. But Valerius and Horatius, those sworn enemies of the decemvirs, putting themselves at the head of their friends and clients, obliged him to retire. In this perplexity, Appius hastened to the temple of Vulcan; and there pretending to act the part of a tribune of the people, demanded that Valerius and Horatius should be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. But his harangue was often interrupted with hisses; and in the mean time Valerius, having caused the body of Virginia to be carried to the top of a flight of steps, whence it might be seen by the people, inveighed against Appius from that eminence; thus there were two assemblies, and two orators, in different parts of the forum, declaiming against each other. Appius's auditors soon left him, to go to Valerius; then the decemvir, terrified at the desertion of many of his creatures, withdrew, and, hiding his face with his robe, took refuge in a neighbouring house. At that juncture, Oppius, the plebeian decemvir, rushed into the forum, to defend his colleague; but finding that the party of Horatius and Valerius was the strongest, he judged, that the wisest method, in the present exigence, was to convene the senate. This step immediately quieted the multitude; for they hoped, that the decemvirate would instantly be abolished. The senators then in Rome, being all friends to the decemvirs, ordered the people to behave themselves peaceably, and commissioned some young members of their body to go to the camp near Mount Algidus,

gidus, and prevent the sedition which Virginius might raise among the troops.

This unhappy father had entered the camp, attended by four hundred citizens, and holding the bloody knife in hand. The soldiers, at this strange sight, flocked to him from all quarters, when he, standing on an eminence, while the tears streamed down his cheeks, related to them the plot laid by Appius against his daughter's honour and liberty, and the cruel method he had been forced to take for the preservation of her chastity. The centurions and soldiers, fired with indignation, assured him, that they were determined to support him in what he should undertake against so wicked a tyrant. The decemvirs, who commanded the army, being informed of Virginius' return, and the disposition of the soldiers, attempted to seize the former, and appease the latter. But the soldiers, refusing to pay any obedience to the orders of men whom they looked upon as usurpers and tyrants, flew to their arms, snatched up their ensigns, and took the way to Rome, which they reached about evening, and entered without making the least disturbance. They marched quietly through the city to Mount Aventine, and there intrenched themselves, declaring, that they would not lay down their arms till the decemvirate was abolished, and the tribuneship restored. In this exigency, Oppius convened the senate (for Appius was afraid to appear in public); and the conscript fathers agreed to send three of their body to the army, to ask, why they had left the camp without orders, and what their intent was in possessing themselves of Mount Aventine. As the troops had not yet chosen a leader, they cried out, "Let Valerius and Horatius be sent to us; we will return an answer to the senate by them." When the three commissioners were gone, Virginius advised them to choose leaders to govern them, and manage their concerns. Agreeable to his advice, ten persons were elected, under the name of Military Tribunes. The army was desirous to have Virginius at the head of them; but he declined the honour. "My daughter (said he) is dead, and I have not yet revenged her death: no kind of honour will become me, till her manes are appeased. Besides, what prudent or moderate counsels can you expect from me, who am so incensed against the tyrants? I shall be of more service to the common cause, by acting in it as a private man."

*Virginius
fires up the
army.*

*They re-
turn to
Rome, re-
volt from
their gene-
rals, and
encamp on
Mount
Aventine.*

*Ten mili-
tary tri-
bunes
elected.*

• Diodor. Sic. lib. xii. cap. 26—29. Liv. lib. iii. cap. 44—49.

*The two
Roman ar-
mies join.*

In the mean time, the three legions sent against the Sabines, instigated by Numitorius and Icilius, abandoned their generals, and having, after the example of the other forces, chosen ten military tribunes, marched through the city, and joined the legions on the Aventine. The two armies, thus united, commissioned their twenty tribunes to elect two out of their number to be supreme over all; and the choice fell upon M. Oppius and Sextus Manilius. In the mean time the senate assembled every day, but spent the whole time in debates, without coming to any resolution. At length it was carried by a majority of voices, that Valerius and Horatius should be sent to the revolted army; but they protested, that they would not come to any resolution while the decemvirs were masters of the government. The two armies, tired with these delays, removed their camp to the Sacred Mount, where they entrenched themselves, and observed the same good discipline as their ancestors had formerly maintained in the same place. In this decampment they were followed by such numbers of citizens, with their wives and children, that Rome appeared to be deserted.

*The two
armies re-
move to
Mons Sa-
cer.*

*The senate
resolves to
abolish the
decemvi-
rals.*

*Valerius
and Hora-
tius pre-
vail with
the army
to return
to Rome.*

The senators, surprised to see the streets so thin of people, resolved to abolish the decemvirate, to restore to the people their tribunes, and to the senate its consuls. The decemvirs, finding they could not retain their authority any longer, desired that they might not be sacrificed to the hatred of their enemies; offering to resign the power with which they were invested, whenever the senate should think fit to create new consuls. Upon this declaration, Valerius and Horatius repaired to the army, where they were received with inexpressible joy. Icilius, whom the army chose for their speaker, after having returned the deputies thanks for the zeal they had shewn in behalf of the people, demanded, in the name of all who had retired to the Mons Sacer, 1. The re-establishment of the tribunes of the people, with a right of appeal from the decisions of the consuls. 2. An amnesty for all who had left the camp without permission from their generals. 3. That the decemvirs should be delivered into their hands, that they might be burnt alive. But the prudent deputies made a great difference between the two first articles and the last. "Your two first demands (said they) are agreeable to reason; but the third is the effect of passion. You are offered a shield; do not pretend to take a sword too. The senate has not yet declared you innocent, and will you already presume to give law to it?" The people

being

being satisfied that no tribunes could have their interests more at heart than those two senators, empowered them to make what terms for them they should think fit. Horatius and Valerius returned immediately to the senate, and gave them an account of the demands of the people, but omitted their threats against the decemvirs, who, hearing no mention made of their punishment, readily consented to all that was asked; only Appius seemed unwilling to part with his power: "To re-establish the tribuneship (said he), is only to put arms into the hands of the enraged multitude. I find my life must be sacrificed to the public hatred; but since it must be so, I will not any longer oppose the rage of the populace. I am ready to resign the decemvirate, and care not how soon I do it."

Accordingly, a decree was passed, abolishing the decemvirate, and restoring the tribunes. Then the decemvirs, repairing to the forum, laid down their authority, to the great joy of the city^d. When the news of their resignation were carried to the camp, the army, leaving the Sacred Mount, encamped a second time on Mount Aventine, and there chose their tribunes, the pontifex maximus presiding at the election. Virginius, Icilius, and Numitorius, were first named; C. Sicinius, M. Duilius, M. Titinius, M. Pomponius, G. Apronius, P. Villius, and C. Oppius, were appointed their colleagues. An interrex was afterwards created, who held an assembly of the people by centuries, in which L. Valerius and M. Horatius were raised to the consulate. These consuls, being both very popular, passed several laws, which gave the people a superiority over the senate. Formerly the decrees of the people, convened by tribes, obliged only the plebeians; but now it was enacted, that all decrees made in the comitia by tribes should have the force of laws with relation to all citizens. That the tribunes might be maintained in perpetual possession of their right of judging causes brought before them by appeal, it was likewise enacted, that, for the future, no magistrates of any kind should be invested with authority, without appeal to the assembly of the people; and that it should be lawful for any one to kill the man who should attempt the creation of such a magistrate. The ceremonies were likewise renewed, whereby the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. To these regulations another was added, importing, that the

Yr. of Fl.
1900.
Ante Chr.
448.
U. C. 300.

*A decree
passes, ab-
olishing
the decem-
virate.
L. Valerius
and M. Ho-
ratius
raised to
the consu-
late.
They get
several
laws passed
in favour
of the peo-
ple.*

^d Liv. lib. iii. cap. 53, 54.

decrees of the senate should, for the future, be carried to the ædiles, and kept in the temple of Ceres. This precaution was taken, lest the succeeding consuls should suppress the decrees now made, and by these means render them useless*.

*Appius impeached by
Virginius;*

The power of the tribunes being firmly established, they resolved to prosecute the decemvirs, and begin with Appius, who was accordingly cited to appear. Virginius, who was appointed to be his accuser, without enumerating all his crimes, insisted only on his having, contrary to law, refused a young woman, who was in possession of her liberty, the right of enjoying it till the suit was determined. "If you do not instantly clear yourself from this breach of the law, I will order you (said Virginius), to be carried to prison." Appius kept silence; but when the officers offered to seize him, he cried out, "I appeal." Having enumerated the services done to the republic by his family, and reminded the people of his own zeal for the common good, in promoting and compiling the body of laws contained in the Twelve Tables, he claimed the protection of the laws just made in favour of appeals. Virginius answered, that such a monster as Appius ought not to partake of the common benefits of society, nor be allowed to escape imprisonment on giving security, since he had refused that privilege to Virginia. He added, it was but reasonable, that so profligate a wretch should be carried to that prison which he himself had built, and insolently named the Habitation of the People of Rome. Accordingly he was led, notwithstanding his appeal, to prison; but his trial was put off to the third market-day. In this interval, Claudius, the uncle of Appius, who had so much disapproved of his nephew's conduct, yet, upon hearing of the danger to which he was exposed, hastened to Rome, and appeared in the forum, with all his friends and relations, in habits of mourning. He went from citizen to citizen, beseeching them not to fix such an ignominy on the Claudian family. But to no purpose; Virginius, on the other hand, begging them to shew compassion for him and his daughter, and not for the Claudian family, which had always been unfavourable to the interests of the people. Before the day appointed for trial, Appius died in prison (A).

and carried to prison;

and dies there.

The

* Liv. lib. iii. cap. 55.

(A) Dionysius tells us, the strangled himself; but that it was much suspected he had been

The prosecution of Oppius, one of the plebeian decemvirs, followed. He was accused by Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, as an accomplice with Appius, whose injustice he had not opposed, though at that time in Rome. Nor was this the only crime laid to his charge: a veteran, who had served twenty-seven years in the army, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, uncovering his shoulders, exposed to the multitude the marks of the rods with which he had been beaten by Oppius's order; and offered to undergo the same treatment again, if the decemvir could assign any good reason for his cruelty. The accused was, by the unanimous suffrages of the people, thrown into prison, where he died the same day. The other eight decemvirs, terrified by these imprisonments, which were followed by sudden deaths, retired into banishment. Their effects were confiscated and sold, and the money arising from them was carried by the quæstors into the public treasury. As for M. Claudius, the client, who had been employed to serve the pleasures, and carry on the iniquity of his patron, he was condemned to death: but Virginus, pitying a wretch, who had offended at the instigation of a powerful magistrate, and a sovereign, from whom he had no appeal, changed the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment, upon his confessing that he had been suborned. After these examples were made, Duilius, one of the tribunes, advised his colleagues to carry vengeance no farther: accordingly, a general amnesty was granted, and the state enjoyed a profound tranquillity at home for the remaining part of the year¹.

Affairs being settled, the consuls took the field against the Æqui, Volsci, and Sabines, who, during the late intestine divisions, had pillaged the Roman territory. Valerius defeated the two former, and Horatius obtained a victory over the latter; but the senate, dissatisfied with their too popular administration, and moved by a speech of C. Claudius, who inveighed bitterly against them, refused the consuls a triumph. This opposition, however, served to gain the people a new prerogative, the right of

Oppius, another of the decemvirs, thrown into prison, where he dies.

The others retire into banishment.

The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Sabines, defeated by the consuls.

The senate refuses them a triumph, which they obtain of the tribunes.

¹ Liv. lib. iii. cap. 58, 59.

been dispatched by their orders. Livy barely relates, of a public punishment, laid violent hands on himself in Appius, to avoid the infamy prison (1).

(1) Dion. Hal. lib. xi. p. 725—727. Liv. lib. iii. cap. 55, 56.

decreasing triumphs: for the consuls applied to them, and the tribunes espousing their cause, Icilius declared, in the name of the people of Rome, that the consuls should, in opposition to the senate, have the honour of a triumph; which they enjoyed accordingly. The tribunes did not stop here, but formed a design of getting themselves continued in the tribuneship after the expiration of their year. This was a conspiracy not unlike that of the decemvirs; but, to prevent any suspicion that their aim was to make themselves masters of the government, they intended that the people should continue Valerius and Horatius in the consulship. Duilius, one of their college, a man of great moderation, and very zealous for the public liberty, opposed this project, and rendered it abortive, by prevailing upon the consuls to declare, that they would not hold the consulship after their year was expired. After this declaration, Duilius held the assembly for electing tribunes, and, by his influence, five new ones were chosen, in spite of the cabals of the others. However, the latter prevailed so far by their intrigues, as to hinder any other of the candidates from having the necessary number of voices. Hereupon the nomination of the five tribunes yet wanting was referred to the five actually chosen, according to the direction of a law, which expressly provided, "that if, upon a day of election, the full number of tribunes could not be chosen, those who were elected should have power to name their colleagues." Agreeably to this law, the new tribunes no sooner entered upon their office, than they named their colleagues, and among them, to the great surprize of all, S. Tarpeius and A. Aternius, both patricians, old senators, and even consulars. The election of the consuls followed that of the tribunes, when Lartius Herminius and T. Virginus were chosen without any disturbances. In their consulship, L. Trebonius, one of the tribunes, dissatisfied to see two patricians in that college, employed all his endeavours to oppose the senate in every thing; whence he acquired the surname of *Asper*, or *the Crabbed*. In order to exclude patricians for the future, he procured a law, which, from his name, was called *lex Trebonia*; by which it was ordained, that whosoever should, for the future, hold the command for electing tribunes of the people, should not dismiss the assembly, till the number of ten tribunes was completed by the votes of the people. This law took from the tribunes, who were first chosen, the right of naming

Two patricians chosen tribunes of the people.

Lex Trebonia.

naming their colleagues, which the Romans called *co-optatio* ^b.

The following consulate of M. Geganius and C. Julius produced nothing remarkable. The succeeding consuls, T. Quinctius Capitolinus a fourth time, and Agrippa Furius, found the people highly exasperated against the nobility, occasioned by some insults they had offered the plebeians. The aggressors were cited to appear before the people, and this citation occasioned great contentions. Upon the news of these domestic broils, the Æqui and Volsci entered the Roman territory, and ravaged the country to the gates of Rome; the tribunes opposing the levies necessary to repulse them. Upon this occasion, the consul Quinctius, a man illustrious for several victories, and greatly respected for the purity of his manners and the wisdom of his counsels, having convened a general assembly of the people, made an harangue to them, with which they were so affected, that they concurred unanimously in taking arms. The youth offered themselves to be enlisted, inasmuch, that on the same day the levies were raised, and the army marched ten miles from the city. Next day the consuls came in sight of the enemy, and the day following gave them battle, and gained a complete victory. However, the consuls did not demand a triumph, nor did the senate offer them that honour.

*The old
dissensions
renewed.*

*The Æqui
and Volsci
invade the
Roman
territories.*

*The Ro-
mans gain
a complete
victory
over them.*

This would have been a glorious year for the republic, had not the Roman people dishonoured themselves by an iniquitous judgement in a cause which was referred to their decision. The inhabitants of Ardea and Aricia chose them arbitrators in a dispute concerning a large tract of land, to which they both laid claim. The tribes being assembled, and the cause heard, the votes were going to be taken, when one Scaptius, a Roman, eighty-three years old, desired to speak. He pretended, that the district in question belonged formerly to the city of Corioli, and consequently now to the Romans, who ought therefore to make no scruple of seizing it. The consuls used their utmost endeavours to dissuade the people from taking a step, which must dishonour the Roman probity; but all their efforts were to no purpose; the people adjudged the territory to themselves ^b.

*Iniquitous
judgement
of the peo-
ple, in a
cause re-
ferred to
their arbi-
tration.*

In the following consulate of M. Genacius Augurinus and C. Cyprius Philo, the tribunes carried their pretensions

*New pre-
tensions of
the tri-
bunes.*

^a Liv. lib. iii. cap. 61-65.
^b Liv. ubi supra, cap. 77, 78.

^b Dion. Hal. lib. xi. p. 749.

sions farther than ever; for they not only demanded that the law, prohibiting patricians and plebeians to marry, might be repealed, but likewise that plebeians might be admitted to the consulate. Canuleius, the most active of the tribunes, declared to the senate, in the most solemn manner, that he would constantly oppose all levies of troops, let the want of them be ever so pressing, till these concessions should be made to the people. The consuls and patricians opposed, with great warmth, these new claims of the encroaching tribunes; but the Ardeates, the Æqui, the Veientes, and the Volsci, invading, at the same time, the Roman territory, the senate found it necessary to let the law concerning marriages pass, hoping that this concession would induce the tribunes to desist from the pursuit of the law relating to the consulate, or at least to suspend it till the conclusion of the war: but their hopes proved abortive. The tribunes, though the alarm from abroad daily encreased, still opposed the levies, and pushed their point with the same zeal as before. Nay, at the instigation of Canuleius, they all bound themselves, by a solemn oath, not to desist from their opposition, till the senate had granted their demand. C. Claudius, in a private assembly of the oldest senators, moved to have recourse to arms and violence, rather than yield to the people the dignity of the consulate; but T. Quinctius, and the majority of the assembly, thought it better to comply than come to a rupture with the people. Then Claudius, to prevent the debasing of the consular dignity, made a new proposal; that, instead of consuls, a certain number of military tribunes should be chosen, partly out of the senate, and partly from the plebeians; and that those new magistrates should be invested with consular power.

Yr. of Fl.
1905.
Ante Chr.
443.
U.C. 305.

*Military
tribunes
created
with con-
sular
power;
but soon
after ab-
olished.*

This project being approved, the senate was assembled, and the tribunes called to give their reasons in behalf of the new laws in question. After they had explained their sentiments, Claudius's scheme was proposed, and received with great applause, both by the patricians and plebeians. A decree was immediately passed for this fourth revolution in the Roman government, and the comitia were held without delay. When the people came to vote, they refused to give their votes to any but patricians; so that only three military tribunes were chosen, A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Artilius, and S. Cæcilius, or, as some style him, Clælius. But they did not long continue in office. Curtius, the late consul, who had presided at the election, de-

declared, three months after, that the auguries preceding it had been inauspicious, a circumstance which made their promotion void. This was, probably, an artful contrivance of the nobility, to restore the ancient form of government. However that be, the three new magistrates readily resigned their office, and an interrex was named, that the commonwealth might not remain without a head. T. Quinctius, the interrex, assembled the people, to determine whether the consular government should be restored, or that of the military tribunes continued. The senate declared for consuls; the tribunes insisted upon the late institution; but the people, being resolved to confer the supreme dignity only on patricians, were indifferent whether it should be called consulship or tribuneship. At length all agreed to restore the old form of government; and L. Papirius Mugillanus, and L. Sempronius Atratinus, were appointed consuls for the remaining part of the year¹. Under the succeeding administration of T. Quinctius Capitolinus, a fifth time consul, and M. Geganius, a second time, the censorship was established. There had been no census for seventeen years; an omission which occasioned great disorders. These the new consuls undertook to remedy; but as they had many civil and military affairs on their hands, they desired the senate to discharge them of the care of numbering the people, and to lay it upon two magistrates created for that purpose, who, with the title of censors, should, every five years, take a general review of the Roman people, and an account of their effects. The senate approved the motion; and the tribunes, though always upon their guard against every thing offered by the senate, thought the employment of too little importance to oppose it. They did not even demand that the plebeians should be allowed a share in it; not foreseeing to what a pitch of power and grandeur the office of censor would in time arrive. As men generally study how to enlarge their authority, the censorship was no sooner made a distinct magistracy, than the censors began to take upon them the reformation of manners, and by that office subjected to their tribunal the senators and knights, as much as the meanest of the people. Papirius and Sempronius, the consuls of the preceding year, were the first censors; this dignity being unanimously conferred upon them, to atone for the short duration of their consulship².

Yr. of FL
1907.
Ante Chr.
441.
U. C. 307.

The censorship
established.

¹ Dion. Hal. lib. xi. p. 736. Liv. lib. iv. cap. 7.
cap. 8, 9. Dion. Hal. *ubi supra*, p. 737.

² Liv. *ibid*.

While

*A civil
war a-
mong the
Ardeates.*

While the consuls were thus easing themselves of the burden of their office, a neighbouring city found them employment abroad. The Ardeates, who had lately renewed their alliance with Rome, were involved in a civil war, which arose from a very slight cause. Two citizens of Ardea, one of a noble family, the other of a plebeian, had fallen in love with the same young woman. As she was a plebeian, her guardians were for giving her to a man of her own rank; but her mother, an ambitious woman, was fond of matching her with a man of quality. The dispute about this marriage engaged all Ardea, the nobility declaring for one of the suitors, and the people for the other. At length the cause between the mother and the guardians was tried, and sentence pronounced by the judges in favour of the former; who, they said, had a right to dispose of her child to whom she pleased; but the latter, refusing to stand to this determination, had recourse to violence, gathered together some plebeians, and, entering the widow's house, carried away her daughter. The nobility ran to arms, fell upon the plebeians, and, having killed several individuals, brought the young woman back to her mother's house. The plebeians, thus irritated, leaving the city in great numbers, encamped on a neighbouring hill, and from thence sent out parties to lay waste the lands of the nobility. The mutineers, being joined by the Volsci, chose themselves a commander, named Clitius, and laid siege to Ardea. The nobility applied to the Romans; and the senate sent an army to their relief, under the command of the consul Geganius, who invested the besiegers, obliged them to surrender their arms, and made them pass under the yoke. After this exploit the consul returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph, with uncommon pomp and solemnity.

*The Ro-
mans assist
the nobility
of Ardea.*

*A colony
sent to re-
people Ar-
dea.*

The succeeding consuls, M. Fabius and Posthumius Ebutius, made the Ardeates amends for the wrongs the Romans had done them, on occasion of their contest with the Anicians; for they sent a colony to repopulate their city, much depopulated by the civil war; and privately agreed, that no lands, except those formerly in dispute, should be divided among the new colony; and even of those only a small part; and that the rest should be restored to their ancient proprietors. As this disposition was, in effect, disannulling the judgement of the people, Agrippa Menenius, F. Clælius, and M. Ebutius, who had

put the decree in execution, were cited to appear before the people; but these three patricians, to avoid the prosecution, declared themselves citizens of Ardea, where they remained. The following year, when the government was in the hands of C. Furius and M. Papirius, proved a year of peace. But in the succeeding consulate of Proculus Geganius and L. Menenius, great disturbances arose, occasioned by a Roman knight, named Sp. Mælius, who had the confidence to aspire to the sovereign power. A dreadful famine happening in Rome, the people, to prevent the evil consequences of it, created, with the consent of the senate, an extraordinary magistrate, with the title of superintendent of provisions. The person they named for this office was L. Minutius, an active and prudent man, who immediately sent his agents into the neighbouring countries to buy corn, but with little success, Sp. Mælius, who was one of the richest men in Rome, having forestalled the markets. The corn Mælius bought, was, by his order, distributed among the meaner people; so that his house became the place of refuge for the poor, the idle, and those who had undone themselves by debauchery^m.

*Sp. Mælius
aspires to
the sov-
erign
power.*

Minutius, who was continued in his office under the new consuls, T. Quinctius Cincinnatus the sixth time, and Agrippa Menenius, discovered that Mælius, under cover of extraordinary liberality, held assemblies at his house, and that great quantities of arms had been conveyed thither by night. Upon this intelligence he enquired farther into the matter, and at length detected a conspiracy formed to subvert the present government. He was certainly informed, that Mælius aspired to the sovereign power; that the people were to take arms in his favour; and that even some of the tribunes had consented to sell the public liberty. Minutius, without loss of time, gave an account of his discoveries to the senate; and the senate, following the advice of Quinctius Cincinnatus, empowered him to name his brother, Quinctius Cincinnatus, dictator. It was thought necessary to take this step in so critical a juncture, to prevent Mælius from escaping the punishment due to his wicked attempt. He might have appealed from the consuls to the people, who would have saved him; but from the dictator there was no appeal. Cincinnatus, being upwards of eighty, would have declined the office; but the consuls and the whole senate insisting upon his charge-

*Quinctius
Cincinnati-
us dicta-
tor.*

ing himself with the care of the commonwealth, he at length acquiesced; named Servilius Ahala, to be his general of the horse, and next day placed guards in all the quarters of the city. This precaution surpris'd those who knew nothing of the conspiracy; but Mælius and his associates being apprised that the power of the supreme magistrate was employed against them, used their utmost endeavours to engage the multitude in their favour.

*Mælius
cited to
appear be-
fore the
dictator.*

The dictator, aware of their intrigues, having caused his tribunal to be carried into the forum, sent his master of the horse to cite Mælius to appear before him. Mælius, instead of obeying the summons, attempted to make his escape. Then Servilius commanded a licitor to seize him, and his orders were put in execution; but the multitude having rescued him out of the licitor's hands, he was very near making his escape, when Servilius, throwing himself

He is slain;

into the croud, overtook him, and killed him on the spot. This action was so agreeable to the dictator, that, seeing his master of the horse all sprinkled with the blood of the criminal, he told him, that to him Rome was indebted for her liberty. He then convened a general assembly of the people, and, having acquainted them with the conspiracy, declared, that Mælius had been justly slain. His house was, by the dictator's orders, rased to the ground, and the prodigious quantities of corn found in it, sold to the people at low rates. As for Menenius, a statue was erected to him without the gate Trigemina, as a reward of his vigilance; but three of the tribunes, provoked at the murder of Mælius, made loud complaints in the assembly of the people, and obstinately opposed the election of the consuls; infomuch that the patricians, to avoid a tumult,

*and his
house rased.*

were forced to consent that military tribunes should be chosen for the next year. The tribunes hoped, that the people would now divide the government between the patricians and plebeians; but they chose only three patricians, Mamercus Æmilius, L. Quinctius, the son of the dictator, and Julius Iulus*. During their administration the city of Fidenæ not only revolted from Rome, but the inhabitants, putting themselves under the protection of Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, murdered four ambassadors sent by the senate to ask the reason of their conduct. As a war was unavoidable, it was thought more proper to choose consuls than military tribunes for the next year; and accordingly M. Geganius, a third time, and L. Sergius

*Military
tribunes
chosen
anew.*

*Fidenæ re-
volts from
the Romans.*

* Liv. lib. iv, cap. 27. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 3.

were elected. It fell to the share of the latter to make war upon the Veientes; but though he gained some advantages over them, he lost a great number of men; a circumstance which determined the senate to remove him from the command of the army, and to create a dictator in his room.

The consuls named Mamercus Æmilius for that dignity, who chose young Quinctius Cincinnatus for his general of the horse, and appointed Quinctius Capitolinus, and M. Fabius Vibulanus, two celebrated commanders, his lieutenant-generals. He soon after took the field, came to an engagement with the united forces of the Falisci, Fidenates, and Veientes, and gave them a total overthrow. Tolumnius was slain in the battle by Cornelius Cossus, a legionary tribune, who stripped him of his armour and royal robes, and carried these spoils, called *spolia opima*, on his shoulders in the dictator's triumph. He afterwards deposited them in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, they being the second of the sort known in Rome. In the following consulate of M. Cornelius and L. Papirius, one Sp. Mælius, a tribune of the people; and a near relation of the famous Mælius, cited Minutius and Servilius Ahala, to answer for his death°.

The Veientes and Fidenates renewed the war in the following consulate of Julius Iulus, the second time, and L. Virginus, while the Romans were greatly distressed by a plague; but Q. Servilius Priscus, being created dictator, gave them battle near Nomentum, routed them, and took the city of Fidenæ. This success was followed by a census of the Roman people, which, after the establishment of the censors, never failed to be renewed every five years. The following year, when C. Julius was consul the third time, and Virginus the second, Mamercus Æmilius was named to the dictatorship a second time, upon a report that all Hetruria was preparing for war; but these fears proving vain, Æmilius, who had no hopes of gaining glory abroad, resolved to do something remarkable at home, and proposed to the people the shortening the duration of the censorship, and reducing it from five years to eighteen months. This motion was received with applause, and passed into a law. Then Æmilius, to shew the dislike he had to magistracies of long continuance, resigned his own, and retired to his house, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude. However, this

*Mamercus
Æmilius
dictator.*

*The second
spolia
opima.*

Yr. of Fl.
1912.
Ante Chr.
436.
U. C. 312.

*Fidenæ
taken by
the Ro-
mans.
Mamercus
Æmilius
dictator.
The censor-
ship short-
ened.*

*Æmilius
persecuted
by the cen-
sors.*

wife law cost him dear; the censors, who were the inspectors of the manners of the people, struck him out of the roll of his tribe, took from him the privilege of voting, deprived him of all the rights of a Roman citizen, and loaded him with a tribute eight times greater than the proportion he used to pay; but this persecution gave him a new lustre, and stirred up the people against his persecutors, Furius and Geganus, to such a degree, that they would have torn them in pieces, if Æmilius had not been so generous as to use his interest with the multitude to spare their lives.

*Military
tribunes
created for
two years.*

The tribunes of the people, by renewing their harangues against the election of consuls, influenced the public in such a manner, that military tribunes were chosen for the next year. However, the people raised to that dignity only three patricians, M. Fabius, M. Fastius, and L. Sergius. Nothing memorable happened during their administration but a plague, which ceased in the following year, when the republic was again governed by three military tribunes, all patricians; namely, L. Pinarius, L. Furius, and Sp. Posthumius. The rich plebeians now complained that the poorer sort chose none but patricians to that magistracy, notwithstanding the law, which allowed three plebeians to be elected. They met at the houses of the tribunes to consult upon this matter, and there resolved to propose a law, forbidding any pretenders to the superior offices to appear in garments of an extraordinary whiteness, to solicit the votes of the people. It was customary for those who aspired to any office, to shew themselves to the people in a habit of an extraordinary whiteness, and to court the meanest of the citizens to call them by their names, and to shake hands with them. From this habit they were called *candidati*, or candidates, a word derived from the Latin *candidus*, signifying *white*.

*A law
prohibiting
the use of
white
garments.*

As this method was used only by the nobility, the principal plebeians undertook the abolishing of such a custom, hoping to end the various arts used by the patricians to gain the favour of the people. The law, prohibiting the use of white garments, passed, though opposed by the patricians, who, seeing the people incensed against the nobility, began to fear that they would no longer refuse their voices to the chief plebeians for the military tribuneship; wherefore, to avert this danger, they used their utmost efforts to get consuls chosen for the next year, the

formidable preparations which the Æqui and Volsci were making at this time for war, favouring their design.

As no plebeians had commanded armies, the people were indifferent whether consuls or military tribunes were chosen; for they were determined to give their suffrages to none but old captains, and consequently to patricians. Thus the election being left to the senate, the consulship was restored, and T. Quinctius, the son of Lucius, and C. Julius Mento, were promoted to that dignity. They were officers of great experience and courage; but a misunderstanding arising between them, they were defeated by the enemy near Mount Algidus. In consequence of this defeat, the senate thought it necessary to name a dictator; but the consuls obstinately refusing to comply with their desire in this particular, being piqued at the diffidence they shewed of their abilities, the senators had recourse to the tribunes of the people, exhorting them to interpose their authority, and oblige the consuls to name a dictator. The tribunes, who were then in the senate, charmed with a motion which tended to increase their authority, having withdrawn to consult, returned with this declaration, that it was the pleasure of the tribunes that the consuls should obey the senate, or be imprisoned, if they persisted in their disobedience. The consuls submitted; but justly reproached the senators with betraying the interests of their own body, and subjecting the consular authority to the tribunitian power. Another difficulty still remained; the consuls could not agree about the person who should be dictator; so that they were obliged to draw lots for the privilege of nominating. It fell to Quinctius, and he named his father-in-law, Posthumius Tubertus, who appointed L. Julius Vopiscus to be his general of the horse. The dictator soon raised an army, with which he marched against the enemy; having defeated them in a bloody battle, he returned in triumph to Rome, and laid down his employment¹.

The next year, when C. Papirius and L. Julius Vopiscus were consuls, the Æqui desired to enter into an alliance with the Romans, on the same plan with the Latins and Hernici; but all they could obtain was a truce for eight years². Nothing remarkable happened at Rome during the present consulship, but the making a law to settle the value of oxen and sheep paid by way of fines for disobedience to magistrates. The fines were ordered

The consulship restored.

The consuls defeated by the Æqui and Volsci.

Posthumius Tubertus, dictator, defeats the Æqui and Volsci.

Truce of eight years granted to the Æqui.

¹ Liv. lib. iv. cap. 26—29.

² Idem ibid. cap. 30—34.

*A drought,
famine, and
plague at
Rome.*

to be paid in money for the future, each ox being valued at a hundred ascs of brals, and each sheep at ten. The tribunes were the first projectors of this law; but the consuls, having notice of their design, proposed the new regulation themselves; and by these means gained the favour of the people. During the succeeding year, the republic enjoyed profound peace, under the administration of L. Sergius a second time consul, and Hostus Lucretius, which was not disturbed even by the tribunes. The ensuing consulship of T. Quinctius, and Cornelius Cossus, was remarkable for nothing but an extraordinary drought, which occasioned a famine, followed by a dreadful plague. On this occasion the Romans had recourse to deities unknown, and introduced new superstitions; but the senate, apprised of the danger of innovations in religion, ordered the ædiles to take care that no gods were worshipped but those of the country; and by this precaution a stop was put to all foreign superstitions. The Veientes had obtained a truce for eight years, after their defeat near Nomentum; but, before the time was expired, had ravaged the lands of the republic. The senate therefore, in the consulship of L. Papirius Mugilanus and Servilius Ahala, resolved to punish them; but a dispute arising between the people and the senate, concerning the right of declaring war, those enemies of the republic escaped vengeance this year*. The next, the tribunes insisted upon having the government placed in the hands of military tribunes; and accordingly four patricians were chosen, T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Furius, M. Posthumius, and A. Cornelius Cossus.

The Romans defeated by the Veientes.

The latter staid at Rome, and the other three marched against the Veientes; but as they did not act in concert, they were routed, and obliged to keep within their camp. The people, upon the news of their defeat, insisted upon their being deposed, and a dictator appointed in their room; but as there were then no consuls, whose prerogative it was to nominate a dictator, recourse was had to the augurs, who declared, that Cossus, who had had no share in the late shameful disaster, might nominate a dictator. Accordingly he named Mamercus Æmilius, who had been in the same post twice before, and whom the censors had degraded. The new dictator appointed Cossus his general of the horse, and soon after took the field against the Veientes, whom the Fidenates had joined,

The Veientes and Fidenates defeated by Mamercus Æmilius dictator.

* Idem ibid.

after

after having massacred the Roman colony in their city. The dictator coming up with them near the city of Fidenæ, gained a complete victory over their united forces, and made himself master both of the city of Fidenæ, and of the camp of the Veientes^{*}.

Notwithstanding the ill conduct of the last military tribunes, the tribunes of the people prevailed so far as to have the same government continued the two following years; but had still the mortification to see patricians only elected. These were, the first year, A. Sempronius, L. Furius, L. Quinctius, and L. Horatius; the second, Ap. Claudius, Sp. Nautius, L. Sergius, and Sex. Iulus. The tribunes of the people used their utmost endeavours to dissuade the multitude from giving this preference to the patricians, in the elections. The richest and most eminent men among the plebeians insinuated, that if they could be once chosen, they would not fail to get the public lands divided among the poor citizens. This declaration made no small impression upon the multitude; but the patricians, who were then in possession of the military tribuneship, to avoid the shame of having plebeians for their successors, agreed to lead out of Rome those who aspired to that dignity, under pretence of making an incursion into the territory of the Volsci. In their absence, Appius Claudius, son of the decemvir, and one of the military tribunes, held an assembly for electing consuls, when C. Sempronius Atratinus, and C. Fabius Vibulanus, were chosen[†].

They had scarce entered upon their office, when news were brought to Rome, that the Volsci had taken the field with a numerous army, and were advancing towards the frontiers, to lay waste the lands of the republic. The consul Sempronius, a man of greater courage than conduct, was sent against them; but he, despising an enemy whom the Romans had often vanquished, and attacking them with the infantry alone, was surrounded on all sides, and would have been cut off, if Tempanius, an old officer of the horse, had not taken upon him the command of the cavalry. This brave officer, observing the danger the legions were in, leaped from his horse; and, addressing himself to his companions, "Follow my lance (said he) as if it were a standard; and let us shew the enemy, that we can fight on foot as well as on horseback." At these words the whole body of horse dismounted, and following their leader, fell upon the enemy with incredible

Yr. of Fl.
1923.
Ante Chr.
425.
U. C. 313.

*Fidenæ
taken.*

*A bloody
battle be-
tween the
Romans
and the
Volsci.*

*Gallant be-
haviour of
Tempa-
nius.*

^{*} Liv. *ibid.* cap. 30—34.

[†] Liv. *lib.* iv, cap. 35—37.

fury. The general of the Volsci ordered his men to retire in good order to a neighbouring hill; but Tempanius, after having rescued the legions, continued to press the enemy with such vigour, that they could no longer withstand him. The Volscian commander, who was a man of great experience in war, sent orders to open the ranks, and give passage to the troops Tempanius led, and then to close again, in order to separate them from the rest of the Roman army. •

*Both armies retire
in the
night.*

His orders were obeyed, and Tempanius, rushing still forwards, found himself at last cut off from the main body of the Romans. He did his utmost to force his way through the enemy's ranks; but not being able to break their order, he retired to an eminence, and there drawing up his men in a circle, defended himself with incredible bravery, till night coming on, ended the conflict. The brave Roman did not doubt that the enemy would renew the attack when the darkness was dispelled; and therefore encouraged his men, since they must perish, to sell their lives dear: but he was much surprised, when at day-break he saw neither friends nor enemies. He could not imagine what was become of the two armies, which, a few hours before, had covered the plain. He went down with a few of his men to take a view, first of the Volscian, and afterwards of the Roman camp. Not a man was to be seen, except the wounded who had not been able to follow the main body of their respective armies. Both Romans and Volscians had fought till night; but being equally afraid to renew the fight next morning, had quitted their camps, and retired to the nearest mountains. Tempanius, not knowing where the consul was retired with his troops, took up the wounded Romans, and marched strait to Rome, where he found the people assembled. Some runaways, having reached the city before him, had reported, that the consul was defeated, and the whole body of cavalry cut in pieces. The tribunes of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity of humbling a consul, obliged Tempanius to appear in the assembly, before he repaired to his own house, and asked him aloud several questions concerning the conduct of Sempronius. Tempanius answered, "That it did not become a private officer to judge of the capacity of his general; that he had seen him fight at the head of his legions with great bravery; and that, by what appeared to him upon a view of the field of battle, the Volsci had lost at least as many men as the Romans.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding this favourable testimony of Tempa-
nius, L. Hortensius, one of the tribunes of the people,
cited Sempronius, when the year of his consulate was ex-
pired, to answer for his conduct in the late battle; but
when he appeared upon his trial, Tempanium, who had
been chosen tribune of the people, with three other offi-
cers of the horse, generously became his advocates, and
asked their colleague, why he prosecuted a brave general,
whom he could reproach with nothing but bad fortune.
“Sempronius (said they) was our general and our fa-
ther; and therefore, like true children, we will appear
in the habit of criminals as well as he; and, as we have
shared his fortune, partake of his disgrace, if any befalls
him.” “No (replied Hortensius) the Roman people
shall never see their tribunes in mourning. I have done;
I have nothing farther to say against a general, who un-
derstood so well how to gain the affection of his soldiers.”
Thus he dropped his accusation. Sempronius, and his
colleague Fabius, had been succeeded by military tribunes,
L. Manlius, Q. Antonius, L. Papirius, and L. Servilius;
but this year Rome, having such moderate tribunes of the
people, returned to her ancient form of government, and
chose, without any disturbance, T. Quinctius Capitolinus,
son of the famous Q. Capitolinus and Numerius Fabius
consuls.

*Sempronius
cited to an-
swer for
his conduct
in the
battle.*

*The accu-
sation is
dropped.*

The peace afforded the new tribunes an opportunity of
raising disturbances about the quæstorship. Hitherto there
had been only two quæstors, and those chosen annually
from among the patricians. Their office was, to collect
the taxes, defray the expences of the war, and to keep
accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the public
money, for which they were answerable. To this time
they had always resided in Rome: the consuls therefore
proposed, that two new quæstors should be added, to at-
tend the generals in the field, take an account of the
spoils, sell the booty, and provide for the subsistence of
the army. This motion was received with great applause
by the senate and people; but when it came to be passed
into a law, the tribunes demanded, that two of those ma-
gistrates should always be plebeians. The senate was
willing, that, in the election of quæstors, as in that of
military tribunes, the people should, if they thought
proper, choose as many plebeians as patricians; but the
tribunes obstinately requiring, that the people should not

*New dis-
turbances
about the
quæstorship.*

* Liv. lib. iv. cap. 38—41. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 5. * Liv.
ibid. cap. 43.

be left at liberty to choose plebeians or patricians, the senate thought it adviseable, rather than submit to this condition, to drop the motion. The tribunes, by way of revenge, protested against holding the comitia for electing consuls, and insisted on having military tribunes for the next year. The obstinacy of the two parties threw the republic into anarchy, the tribunes opposing even the senate's meeting to name an interrex.

An interrex chosen.

After warm disputes, the tribunes agreed to the nomination of an interrex; and the senate chose for that office L. Papirius Mugellanus, who, by expostulations and soft persuasions, brought the contending parties to this compromise, that the senate should suffer the people to choose military tribunes instead of consuls; and that the tribunes of the people should allow the tribes to bestow the quaestorship either on patricians or plebeians. Notwithstanding all the cabals and seditious harangues of the tribunes of the people, not only the military tribunes but the quaestors, were chosen from the patricians only, though one of the tribunes had proposed his brother, and the other his son. The tribunes, enraged at this preference, were bent upon accusing A. Sempronius, who had presided at the election, of some unfair dealing in taking the votes; but as he was a man of known probity, and one of the military tribunes, they turned their resentment against C. Sempronius, his cousin-german, who had not been acquitted on his former trial, though the prosecution had been dropped at the request of Tempanius. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty-seven days, during which time he constantly attended the senate, and zealously opposed the request of the tribunes concerning the distribution of lands. With the same steadiness he behaved on his trial, and pleaded his cause with great eloquence. Notwithstanding the solicitations of the senate, and the united testimonies of many officers, who served under him, he was fined fifteen thousand asces of brass ^v. Soon after a Vestal, who, by the levity of her conduct, had brought herself under a suspicion of incontinency, was tried before the pontifices, and acquitted; but the pontifex maximus admonished her to be more reserved for the future ². In the following military tribuneship of Agrippa Menenius, Sp. Nautius, P. Lucretius, and C. Serrilius, a plot was formed by the slaves to set fire to the city, and seize the Capitol; but the design being discovered by some of the conspirators, the evil con-

C. Sempronius is again cited, and condemned to a fine.

sequences of it were prevented. The next year, when the republic was governed by three military tribunes only, M. Papirius, C. Servilius, and L. Sergius, Labicum, a city of Latium, about fifteen miles distant from Rome, revolted, and entered into an alliance with the Æqui; who, after having pillaged the territory of Tusculum, encamped at the foot of Mount Algidus. Two of the military tribunes were now ordered to take the field, while the third should remain in Rome; but each of the three, thinking himself the most capable of commanding the army, despised the less glorious employment of governing the city. The senate was offended to see three magistrates, whose duty it was to take care of the interest of the republic, sacrifice it to their ambition; but no one of that body had weight enough to end the dispute. At length Q. Servilius, who had been formerly dictator, interposing his paternal authority, commanded his son C. Servilius to remain at home; and Caius, though desirous of commanding the army, and raised above his father by the office he then bore in the republic, obeyed, without shewing the least reluctance.

*Labicum
revolts.*

*The tri-
bunes dis-
agree
about the
command
of the
army.*

The two generals agreeing no better in the field than in the city, the army under their command was drawn into an ambush, and entirely defeated. In consequence of this disaster, the senate ordered a dictator to be created: and young Servilius nominated his father, who appointed him general of the horse. The father and son, leaving Rome, at the head of a numerous body of forces, encamped within two miles of the enemy; and, a few days after, attacked them, put their army to flight, took Labicum, their place of refuge, by storm, and, returning to Rome eight days after he had left it, resigned his office.

*The Roman
army de-
feated by
the Æqui;*

*who are
defeated by
the dictator
Q. Servi-
lius.*

The republic enjoyed profound peace under the succeeding military tribunes, P. Lucretius, L. Servilius, Agrippa Menenius, and Sp. Veturius. But the next year, when A. Sempronius, M. Papirius, Q. Fabius, and Sp. Nautius, governed the republic, the tribunes of the people revived the old quarrel about the distribution of lands. Sp. Mæcilius, and Sp. Metilius, who were at the head of the factious plebeians, pretended, that the patricians had usurped the lands they enjoyed; and therefore proposed a division of them between the nobility and the people. The senate met frequently to concert

*Quarrel
about the
distribution
of lands
revived.*

The Roman History.

measures for defeating this proposal. Appius Claudius proposed gaining over some of the college of the tribunes, as the only remedy against their tyranny. His advice was received with great applause, and put in execution with success; for the fathers, applying themselves to the tribunes, by entreaties and remonstrances, gained over six of the ten to oppose the promulgation of the law; so that Mæcilius and Metilius were obliged to drop their petition ^b. The same good understanding was maintained all the next year between the senate and some of the tribunes, when Cornelius Cossus, Quinctius Cincinnatus, Valerius Volusus, and Fabius Vibulanus, were military tribunes. But in the military tribuneship of Q. Fabius, Cn. Cornelius, P. Posthumius, and L. Valerius, the affair of the agrarian law was revived.

*Bola taken
by the
Æqui, and
retaken by
the Romans.*

The Æqui having retaken Bola, a little town, which the Romans had lately seized, P. Posthumius, one of the military tribunes, was sent with an army to recover it. After some skirmishes with the enemy in the field, he invested the place, and, to encourage his men, promised to distribute the plunder among them, if they took the town. The place was soon after carried by assault; but the general, who detested the plebeians, of whom the greatest part of his army consisted, broke his promise, and delivered all the spoil into the hands of the quæstors, and thereby alienated the hearts of the army from him. In the mean time Sextius, one of the tribunes of the people, having revived the affair of the agrarian law, Posthumius was sent for to Rome, to assist his colleagues in opposing this measure. As he was remarkably obstinate, on his arrival he let many inconsiderate expressions drop in the presence of the curiæ. Sextius having proposed a decree for dividing the city of Bola, and its territory, among the soldiers who had made that conquest, Posthumius, in a violent passion, exclaimed, "Woe be to my men, if any such thing be done." Sextius perceiving, by this expression, the temper of the general, took pleasure in exasperating him, and making him use many expressions offensive to the people and soldiers. Then the crafty tribune, turning to the people, upbraided them for thinking such a man more worthy of the office of military tribune than their own tribunes, whose whole business was to procure them lands, houses, and a comfortable old age in their old age. His artful discourse lessened

*Posthumius
displeases
the people.*

^b Idem *ibid.* & cap. 48.

tiality of the people for the nobility in the elections ; but when the threats of Posthumus were related in the camp, the foldiers began to mutiny ; and because P. Sestius, one of the quæstors, ordered a licitor to seize a foldier who was more mutinous than the rest, his companions not only rescued him, but one of them wounded the quæstor with a stone. Posthumus, informed of this tumult, hastened to the camp ; but, instead of appeasing the sedition, increased it by his unseasonable severity. He commanded the most guilty of the mutineers to be thrown into a shallow water, to be there covered with hurdles, and then pressed to death. As this was a slow kind of death, which made the criminals cry out in an affecting manner, the foldiers rescued them from the hands of the executioners. The general, in a transport of rage, left his tribunal, broke through the crowd, and, being attended by his licitors, endeavoured to disperse the multitude ; but the foldiers opposed force with force, and, being wrought up to fury, threw stones at their general, and killed him on the spot. This was the first instance of a commander killed by his troops, from the foundation of Rome.

*The foldiers
mutiny in
the camp :*

*and kill
their ge-
neral.*

The senate, fearing lest the people, in order to screen the murderers, should chuse military tribunes for the next year from their own body, endeavoured to get consuls elected, and, after warm debates, prevailed. A. Cornelius Cossus, and L. Furius Medullinus, were raised to that dignity. As they were men of great prudence and moderation, they were unanimously named by the senate, people, and army, to prosecute the foldiers who had murdered their general ; which task they performed with such circumspection, for fear of driving the army to an open revolt, that those few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the licitors. Nothing remarkable, except a plague and famine, happened in the three following consulates of Q. Fabius, and C. Furius, of M. Papirius and C. Nautius, of M. Æmilius and C. Valerius.

*The muti-
ous foldiers
punished.*

But in the consulate of Cn. Cornelius, and L. Furius, a second time, the tribunes of the people, especially three of the Icilian family, who were more active than the rest, prevailed upon the people to use the liberty allowed them by the laws, and to choose three plebeians into the quæstors. The Icili, having carried this point, encou-

Yr. of R
1937.
Ante Ch
411.
U. C. 33

raged the plebeians to oppose the election of consuls; hoping, that some of their body might be raised to the military tribuneship, as they had been to the quaestorship. The disputes grew warm, when news were brought, that the Æqui and Volsci were again in motion, and had retaken Carventum. It was therefore necessary to raise forces, in order to stop their progress; but the tribunes obstinately opposed the levies, till the senate consented to the election of military tribunes; but, to disappoint the Icili, they added this clause to their decree, that no tribune of the people should either be chosen a military tribune, or continued in his office for the next year. As the tribunes could not object to this restriction without discovering their ambition, troops were raised without opposition; and though Carventum was not recovered, the city of Verrugo was taken from the Volsci, and some other advantages gained over that people ^d.

In the mean time the election of the military tribunes approaching, the patricians engaged some plebeians of no merit or weight to stand candidates. The people, disgusted at their meanness, and ashamed to see them stand in competition with senators and consulars of the first rank, gave all their suffrages to the nobles, and chose three patricians, C. Julius Iulus, P. Cornelius Cossus, and C. Servilius Ahala. During their administration the Volsci renewed the war, and having engaged some of the new allies of the republic to join them, encamped near Antium. The senate, apprehending the republic to be in great danger, ordered a dictator to be nominated; but as the three military tribunes had already drawn lots for the command of the army, which had fallen to Julius and Cornelius, those two generals, offended at the distrust the fathers had shewed of their conduct, refused to name a dictator. In this emergency, the senate complained to the tribunes of the people, as they had done before upon the like occasion, and desired them to interpose their authority: but they rejected the proposal with disdain. "Who are we (said they), but contemptible plebeians, scarce to be reckoned in the number of men, much less of Roman citizens? When the honours and dignities of the republic are made common to us with the patricians, we shall take care that no proud magistrate disobey the decrees of the senate: till then you must expect no assistance from us." This refusal perplexed the senate; but at

*The Volsci
renew the
war.*

length C. Servilius, the third military tribune, extricated them out of the present difficulty, by taking upon him to act alone, and to name a dictator. The person he raised to that high station was P. Cornelius Rutilus, who appointed him to be general of the horse. The dictator took the field, gained a complete victory over the Volsci, and, returning to Rome, laid down his office. Upon his resignation, the military tribunes resumed the functions of their employment; and, to be revenged on the senate for the treatment they had met with, without consulting the fathers, ordered the centuries to assemble for the election of military tribunes against the ensuing year. The patricians, alarmed at this step, had recourse to a new artifice, to prevent the government from falling into the hands of the plebeians. They obliged the most illustrious members of their own body to stand candidates; so that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the tribunes, four patricians of distinguished merit were chosen, namely, C. Valerius, C. Cervilius, Lucius Furius, and Fabius Vibulanus*.

P. Cornelius Rutilus gains a complete victory over the Volsci.

The truce with the Veientes being expired, the Romans sent feciales to demand satisfaction for the injuries they had formerly done the republic; but the feciales, meeting on the road envoys from Veii, at their request, proceeded no farther. These envoys, being admitted into the senate, represented that their city, being at present disturbed by domestic broils, was not in a condition to give the satisfaction required. These dissensions gave the Romans a favourable opportunity of attacking their old enemies; but they had too much generosity, as Livy observes, to take advantage of the misfortunes of a rival state. The Volsci retook Verrugo from the Romans the same year, and put the garrison to the sword; but the military tribunes, having surprised the Volsci, while they were dispersed about the country, in quest of booty, cut them all to pieces†.

Generosity of the Romans.

In the following tribuneship of C. Cornelius, L. Valerius, Cn. Cornelius, and Fabius Ambustus, all patricians, the Veientes having insulted the Roman ambassadors, and driven them out of their city with contempt, the senate ordered a declaration of war against them to be immediately proposed to the people; but the tribunes opposed the levies, on the old pretence of the agrarian law. However, it was agreed, that three of the military tribunes should lead an army against the Volsci; who, at the approach of

* Liv. lib. iv. cap. 38.

† Idem ibid.

the legions, left the country open to be pillaged. The Roman generals, having divided their army into three bodies, made incursions into it on three different sides. Fabius laid siege to Anxur, and, having taken it by storm, divided the spoil equally among the soldiers of the three armies. This generosity paved the way for a reconciliation between the nobility and the people, which was entirely completed by a decree of the senate, that, for the future, the Roman infantry should be maintained in the field at the public expence^g.

Yr. of Fl.

1940.

Ante Chr.

408.

U. C. 340.

The infantry receive pay.

Hitherto all the citizens had been obliged to serve in war at their own charges, and often to the ruin of their families. The senate, therefore, reflecting on the disorders which were occasioned by their refusing to enlist themselves even for the most necessary wars, decreed, that the foot should have pay out of the public money; and that, to supply this expence, a new tax should be raised, from which no citizen should be exempt^h (B). Upon the news of this decree, the people, transported with joy, ran in crouds from all parts to the senate-house, and, kissing the hands of the senators, called them the true fathers of the people; protesting, at the same time, that they would spill the last drop of their blood for their country, which they now looked upon as a tender mother; but the tribunes of the people, disliking this union of the two orders, which prevented them from making a figure in the state, endeavoured to depreciate the favour. They insinuated to the people, that this pay was to come out of their own pockets; that it was not just to make those citizens, who had completed the time of their service at their own charge, contribute to the support of the new soldiers; and that they would protect all those who should refuse to pay the tax. However, as the senators began by laying great sums on themselves, which they paid readily, according to the real value of their estates, the common people followed their example, without shewing the least uneasinessⁱ.

^g Liv. lib. iv. cap. 48, 49.

^h Idem ibid.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

Zonar. lib. vii. Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 3.

(B) What pay was given at this time to each soldier, we find no where recorded; but in Polybius's time, that is, in the time of the second Carthaginian war, each foot-soldier was allowed two oboli a day, a centurion double that pay, and a horseman treble. Two oboli were about the third part of an Attic drachma, which was worth seven-pence three farthings of our money.

The

The senate, finding themselves in a condition to maintain an army abroad, as long as they pleased, formed great designs. All opposition to the levies being at an end, they resolved to besiege Veii, one of the strongest places of Italy, in hopes of making themselves masters of a new city and territory larger than their own. Before they embarked in this great undertaking, the people being assembled, unanimously voted for a war, and chose, for the first time, six military tribunes, all patricians; namely, C. Julius Iulus, C. Æmilius Mamercinus, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, L. Furius Medullinus, Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus, and A. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus^k. Some of these remained at home, while others took the field against the Veientes, who, declining a battle, shut themselves up in their city. The Romans invested it; but there was little action this year, and less the following, when P. Cornelius Malugenenfis, Sp. Nautius Rutilius, Cn. Cornelius Cossus, C. Valerius Potitus, C. Fabius Ambustus, and M. Sergius Fidenas, were military tribunes. These were obliged to divide their army into two bodies; one of which continued before Veii, and the other marched against the Volsci, defeated them, took and raised the city of Ardena, and then rejoined the forces left at the siege^l.

The Romans invest Veii.

The succeeding military tribunes, M. Æmilius, M. Furius, Ap. Claudius, grandson of the decemvir, L. Julius, M. Quinctius, and L. Valerius, pushed on the siege with great vigour. In the mean time the Veientes, changing their form of government, chose a king; a measure which so displeased the other states of Hetruria, that they refused to send them any succours. It was at this siege that the Romans are supposed to have invented lines of circumvallation and contravallation; at least, this is the first time we find them mentioned in history. They fortified their camp both on the side of the city they invested, to prevent sallies, and on the side of the country, to guard against any succours which the Hetrurians might send to the besieged. The military tribunes, considering that Veii could not be taken but after a long siege, and then not so much by force as by famine, resolved, as the troops were now more at their command, to keep the army in the field all winter, in wooden barracks, covered with skins. To this design the soldiers made no opposition, choosing rather to live in the camp at the expence of the public than in Rome at their own; but the tribunes

The Veientes choose a king.

The Roman army kept in the field all winter

^k Liv. *ibid.* cap. 61.

^l Idem *ibid.*

of the people, disliking a project which kept great numbers of their adherents out of Rome, and consequently lessened the strength of their party in the comitia, assembled the tribes, and inveighed bitterly against the military tribunes, accusing them of ambitious designs and cruelty, in keeping the troops all winter in the field. Appius, whom the other military tribunes had left at Rome, in a long speech to the people, exposed the seditious and unreasonable conduct of the tribunes. The people gave no attention to Appius's remonstrances; but a loss which the besiegers sustained before the place, animated the plebeians, more than his prudent discourse, to pursue the siege with vigour.

The Veientes make a brisk sally.

The Veientes, in a sally, surprised the Romans, slew a great number of them, set fire to their machines, and ruined, in a few hours, the work of many days. This misfortune, instead of sinking the spirits of the Romans, inspired them with new courage. The citizens, who had wealth enough to be placed in the first class among the knights, but had not yet received horses from the republic (which ceremony was necessary to make a man a knight), went in a body to the senate, and offered to mount themselves at their own expence, and serve at the siege of Veii. The fathers accepted the offer; and the people, following the example of the new knights, declared themselves ready to serve, and supply the places of the soldiers who had been killed. The senate ordered the same pay to be given to the volunteers as to the rest of the army, and decreed at the same time, that the cavalry likewise should receive pay out of the public treasury^m.

The cavalry receive pay.

The election of new military tribunes furnished the army with new generals. The six chosen were, C. Servilius, Q. Sulpitius, Q. Servilius, A. Manlius, L. Virginus, and Manius Sergius. The siege of Veii was carried on by the two latter; but as these two generals could not agree, each of them had a body of troops under his command, and, as it were, a separate army. Sergius commanded the attack, and Virginus covered the siege. While the army was thus divided, the Falisci and Capenates fell upon Sergius, and, at the same time, the besieged sallying out, attacked him on the other side. The Romans under his command, thinking they had all the forces of Etruria to contend with, began to lose courage, and retire. Virginus could have saved his colleague's

The generals disagree.

^m Liv. lib. iv. cap. 1—3.

troops, for his forces were ranged in order of battle at a small distance; but Sergius was too proud to send to him for succour; and Virginius, though not unacquainted with his danger, resolved not to send him any unless he asked it. Thus the public good was sacrificed to private pique. The enemy made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans in their lines; but Sergius having the good luck to escape, fled to Rome, not so much to justify his own conduct as to complain of that of his colleague. In consequence of his complaint Virginius was recalled, and both commanders were ordered to give an account of their conduct to the senate; where they inveighed against each other with great acrimony. The conscript fathers thought it advisable to make a decree, that all the military tribunes of that year should lay down their dignity, and the people immediately proceed to a new election. The four, who were innocent, made no opposition to the decree; but those two, on whose account it had been made, protested against it; declaring, that they would not resign their authority before the ides of December, the due time for its expiration. The tribunes of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity for them to appear again, and make some figure, threatened, with an air of authority, to send the two refractory magistrates to prison, if they did not obey the senate. But Servilius Ahala, one of the military tribunes, after having severely reprimanded the tribunes of the people for treating his colleagues in so haughty a manner, declared, that if Sergius and Virginius continued obstinate, he would name a dictator^a. The two magistrates, finding it fruitless to resist any longer, abdicated their magistracy; and the people chose six new tribunes, namely, L. Valerius, L. Julius, M. Æmilius, Cn. Cornelius, Cæso Fabius, and Furius Camillus. These new magistrates were ordered to re-commence the siege of Veii; but when the troops came to be raised, the tribunes of the people kindled fresh broils, by dissuading the old soldiers from paying the taxes, as if they were exempted from that burden by being enlisted. The disturbances raised on this occasion were so great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new tribunes of the people; however, the majority of these eight named two more, in defiance of the Trebonian law. This incident afforded C. Trebonius, one of the present tribunes, an opportunity of drawing

The Romans routed before Veii.

All the military tribunes of this year forced to abdicate.

New tribunes chosen.

^a Liv. lib. v. cap. 8.

the displeasure of the people upon three of his colleagues ; but they diverted the hatred of the public from themselves, by turning it against Sergius and Virginus, the two generals of the last year, who were both cited before the people, and condemned to pay a great fine for misconduct. This prosecution had the designed effect ; for the people were so intent upon it, that they forgot the Trebonian law, and every other cause of opposition ^p.

*A plebeian
chosen mi-
litary tri-
bune.*

The tribunes renewed the domestic broils, and proposed two laws ; the first requiring a partition of the lands as formerly ; the second excusing the people from any more contributions towards the pay of the soldiers ; and, in fact, they would not suffer them to pay the taxes ; so that the legions, being deprived of their subsistence, began to mutiny. But at length all was quieted, by choosing a plebeian into the military tribuneship. His name was P. Licinius Calvus. The other five were, P. Mælius, P. Mænius, Sp. Furius, L. Titinius, and L. Publilius. Licinius, though a plebeian, was an old senator ; for, some time since, the considerable plebeians had begun to be admitted into the senate. The tribunes of the people were so much rejoiced to see a plebeian raised to the supreme magistracy, that they dropped their opposition to the tax ; so that the soldiers, receiving their pay, resumed their courage, made themselves masters of Anxur, which belonged to the Volsci, and carried on the siege of Veii with great resolution and perseverance, though they suffered much from the severe cold of the winter ^p.

*Five ple-
beians mi-
litary tri-
bunes.*

Licinius having discharged his trust with universal approbation, the centuries chose, for the year following, five military tribunes out of the plebeians, and only M. Veturius of the patricians. These five were, C. Duilius, L. Atinius, Cn. Genucius, M. Pomponius, and Volero Publilius. Their administration proved glorious ; for they carried on the siege of Veii with vigour, and entirely defeated the confederate forces of the Falisci and Capenates, who came to the relief of the besieged city ; but the extreme coldness of the weather changing, of a sudden to excessive heat, occasioned a mortality both among men and cattle (C).

In

^p Liv. lib. v. cap. 9, 10.

^p Idem ibid. cap. 11, 12.

(C) Hereupon the Sibylline books were consulted, the dumviri pretended to find there a new sort of expiation. Three beds were placed in a temple round a plentiful table ; and the statues of Apollo, Latona, Diana, Hercules, Mercury, and

In the mean time the patricians, taking advantage of the present state of affairs to recover the chief offices of the republic, and knowing the superstition of the people, reported, that the uncommon severity of the last winter, and the present year's plague, were punishments from the gods, who were displeased to see all distinctions of families confounded, and plebeians placed in the highest offices. By these insinuations, and by proposing only such candidates to the centuries as were of superior merit, they disposed them to favour the nobility: accordingly they restored the military tribuneship to the patrician order, raising to that office L. Valerius, L. Furius, M. Valerius, Q. Servilius, Q. Sulpitius; and the famous Camillus, all patricians^a. During their administration, Rome was astonished with a prodigy. It happened to be a very dry summer; nevertheless the lake of Alba swelled on a sudden to such a height, as to cover the tops of the rocks which surrounded it; whereas it had never before reached to the foot of them. This accident was much talked of in the camp before Veii; and, as in long sieges, the soldiers on both sides frequently become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their different camps; but an old soldier of the Veientes, while the others were making merry with the prodigy, cried out in an enthusiastic manner, "Veii shall never be taken till all the water is run out of the lake of Alba." A Roman centinel, who had great faith in divination, hearing him, asked who the old man was; and being informed that he was a diviner, made him prisoner by a stratagem, and carried him before the Roman general, who sent him to the senate. The old man declared, that what he had said was agreeable to an ancient tradition written in some prophetic books of his country; and that, if the Romans could draw the water out of the lake, Veii would be taken: but he advised them to take particular care, that the drains, which

All the military tribunes patricians.

The lake Alba overflows.

^a Liv. lib. v. cap. 14.

and Neptune, taken down from their niches, laid on the beds, and served with magnificent repasts for eight days together. These public ceremonies were imitated in private families; every one kept open house for

friends, strangers, and even enemies; all law-suits, disputes, and animosities were suspended; and the very prisoners released, to partake of the public diversions (1).

(1) Liv. lib. v. cap. 13. Sigonius & Pighius in Fast. Capitol.

should

Three patricians sent to consult the oracle of Delphi.

should be made to carry it off, did not convey it to the sea. Though the senate was unwilling to trust the assertion of the diviner, yet they thought the matter of such consequence, as to send a deputation of three patricians to Delphi, to consult the oracle^r.

Canals are made to drain the lake.

These returned the next year, while L. Julius, L. Furius, L. Sergius, A. Posthumius, A. Manlius, and P. Cornelius, all patricians, were military tribunes. The answer of the oracle was, to the great surprize of the senate and people, perfectly agreeable to the advice and prediction of the old man. The senate, therefore, immediately sent out pioneers to make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and convey them all over the fields in trenches. This wonderful work subsists to this day, and the waters of the lake Albano run through it^r.

The Romans overcome by the Hetrurians.

M. Furius Camillus dictator.

Defeats the forces of the Falisci, Capenates, and Hetrurians.

The election of the present military tribunes being defective with regard to the auguries, they all abdicated, and, after a short interregnum, were succeeded by six new ones, all plebeians; to wit, L. Atinius, P. Mælius, L. Titinius, P. Mænius, Cn. Genucius, and P. Licinius. Atinius and Genucius marched with some troops to oppose a great body of Hetrurians, who were coming to attack the Roman intrenchments before Veii; but the two tribunes falling into an ambush, Genucius was killed, and his colleague driven out of the field. The news of this defeat so terrified the senate, that they had recourse to a dictator. M. Furius Camillus was accordingly raised to that supreme dignity. He named P. Cornelius Scipio for general of the horse, and ordered new troops to be raised. The people contended who should first list under the banners of so renowned a commander. The Latins and Hernici sent him a strong supply of their best troops. On his taking the field, he came to a battle with the united forces of the Falisci, Capenates, and Hetrurians; and having entirely defeated them, sat down before Veii, and pushed on the siege with incredible vigour; but the besieged defending themselves with more courage than ever, Camillus, despairing to carry, by assault, a place which had a whole army for its garrison, had recourse to mines and sapping. His pioneers, whom he divided into six companies, relieving one another, and the work continually advancing without interruption, a passage underground was opened to the castle. The dictator then thinking himself sure of conquest, sent to the senate, to

^r Idem ibid. cap. 15, 16.

^r Vide Kircher. Vet. Lat. lib. iii.

know how they would have the spoils of the city disposed of. The question was debated with great warmth; Appius Claudius was for having the rich plunder of Veii made a fund for the payment of the troops; but Licinius, thinking that this would give rise to endless murmurs and seditions, proposed, that the spoils should be divided between the army and those citizens who should be in the camp when the town was taken. This advice prevailed; and a decree was made, giving leave to all the citizens to go to the camp, and take their share of the booty. Accordingly vast numbers flocked thither, well armed, and joined the dictator's troops in the attack ^t.

The signal being given for the assault, part of the army scaled the walls, while the soldiers in the mine sallied out, and spread themselves in several bodies through the town. One fell upon those who were defending the walls; another broke down the gates; and the whole Roman army entering the city, put all those to the sword who did not surrender their arms. Thus was the rich city of Veii taken, like a second Troy, after a ten years siege. The booty, which was exceeding rich, was divided among the soldiers; but the prisoners of free condition were sold to the best bidder, and the money arising from thence placed in the public treasury; but though this was the only part of the spoil from which the public reaped any benefit, the people murmured, and inveighed both against the senate and the dictator.

The displeasure of the multitude was increased with regard to Camillus, by some singularities in the pomp of his triumph; for he entered the city in a magnificent chariot, drawn by four horses, milk-white, and coloured his face with vermilion. White horses, since the expulsion of the kings, had been allowed only to Jupiter and the Sun; and the statues of the gods were commonly painted with vermilion. The people, therefore, in the midst of the praises which they bestowed on the dictator, could not, without a secret indignation, behold him affecting a pomp, which put him upon a level with the gods. What still more incensed the people, was his demanding back from them a tenth part of the spoil of Veii, to discharge a vow, which he had made to Apollo just before the assault, and afterwards forgot. This ill-timed demand irritated the people against him; and the tribunes gladly seized so favourable an occasion of encreasing their prejudice. In

Yr. of Fl.
1949.
Ante Chr.
399.
U. C. 349.

*Veii taken,
after a ten
years siege.*

*The people
offended at
the dicta-
tor's con-
duct.*

^t Liv. lib. v. cap. 18—20.

the mean time, it was proposed to buy such a vase of gold with the produce of what the soldiers returned, as might shew Greece the magnificence of the Roman republic; but there being little gold to be found in the city, the ladies, of their own accord, contributed all their toys and ornaments, of which a vase with two handles was made, weighing eight talents, and three senators were sent to Delphi with it. In return for this instance of female generosity, the republic granted them two favours: 1. That funeral orations should be made for illustrious women, as for great men. 2. That they should have leave to ride in chariots at the public games^v.

Sicinius Dentatus proposes, that half of the senators, knights, &c. should remove to Veii.

Next year, the republic being under the government of six military tribunes, P. Cornelius Cossus, P. Cornelius Scipio, M. Valerius, Cæso Fabius, L. Furius, and Q. Servilius, all patricians; Sicinius Dentatus, a tribune of the people, proposed, that half of the senators, knights, and people of Rome, should go and settle at Veii. The affair, according to custom, was carried before the senate; and the fathers, especially Camillus, opposed it with great warmth. They feared, that two such cities would, by degrees, become two different states, which, after a destructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies. They therefore protested, that they would sooner die than consent to so unreasonable a law. By this resolute behaviour, Camillus, and the other senators, rendered this project abortive^v.

Falerii besieged by Camillus.

Notwithstanding the opposition made by Camillus to this law, he was chosen one of the six military tribunes for the year following. His colleagues were, L. Furius, P. Cornelius Scipio, C. Æmilius, Sp. Posthumius, and L. Valerius. The conduct of the war against the Falisci being committed to the care of Camillus, he besieged Falerii, their capital city, and surrounded it with lines; but at so great a distance from the walls, that there was sufficient room for the besieged to take the air, without danger. The Falisci had brought from Greece the custom of committing all their children to the care of one man, appointed to instruct them in all the branches of polite literature, to conduct them into the fields for the benefit of the air, and see them perform the exercises proper for their age. The children had used often to walk with their master without the walls of the city before the siege, and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet, and at such

^v Plut. in Camillo. Liv. lib. v. cap. 23—24. cap. 24, 25.

^v Liv. lib. v.

a distance,

distance, were not great enough to make them discontinue that exercise afterwards. The schoolmaster proved a traitor: he at first led the youths only along the walls; then he carried them a little farther; and at length, when a favourable opportunity offered, he led them through the guards of the Roman camp, quite to the general's tent. As they were the children of the best families in the place, their treacherous leader, when he came into Camillus's presence, addressed him thus: "With these children I deliver the place you besiege into your hands: they were committed to my care and tuition; but I prefer the friendship of Rome to my employment at Falerii."

Camillus, struck with horror at this treachery, ordered his lictors to strip the traitor, to tie his hands behind him, and to furnish the youths with rods to scourge him back again into the city. The Falisci, moved by this generous action, immediately sent a deputation to Camillus, to treat of a surrender, though they had a little before protested, that they would rather undergo the fate of the Veientes than submit to Rome. Camillus referred the deputies to the senate, which they addressed in the following manner: "Rome, conscript fathers, has just now gained a victory over us, which can never be shameful to us in the sight either of gods or men. We submit to you, from a persuasion, that we cannot live more happily, than under the laws of a republic in which justice and probity reign. The Romans and Falisci are this day giving two great examples to posterity; you, in preferring justice to victory; we, in rather yielding to the charms of virtue than to the force of arms. We surrender ourselves into your hands. Command the Falisci to lay down their arms, to give you hostages, and to receive a Roman garrison: we will obey, and open our gates. We shall never repent of subjecting ourselves to your government; nor shall you ever have reason to complain of our being unfaithful." The senate heard this address with pleasure; but left to Camillus the terms of the peace which was to be made with the Falisci, not as a conquered people, but as with a nation which voluntarily submitted to the dominion of the republic. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, and demanded only the expences of the present campaign. He then led back his army to Rome, where his soldiers increased the number of his enemies. They had promised themselves great riches from the plunder of Falerii; and thinking Camillus had given the Falisci too favourable terms, they considered their

*The Falisci
submit to
Rome.*

*The Æqui
defeated.*

*New dis-
turbances
at home.*

*Consuls
created in-
stead of
military
tribunes.*

general as an enemy to the people ; so that their hatred to this hero encreased with his reputation *.

While Camillus was thus employed, two of his colleagues, Æmilius and Posthumius, having united their forces, defeating the Æqui ; but while the arms of the republic prospered abroad, new disturbances were raised at home. When the time came for electing tribunes of the people, the multitude was for continuing those who had proposed the law for migrating to Veii ; and the patricians were resolved to re-elect those who had opposed it ; but the former prevailing in the comitia by tribes, the promoters of the law were re-chosen. The patricians, in revenge, determined, if possible, to restore the consular government : accordingly, in the comitia by centuries, where they had most sway, L. Lucretius Flavius, and Severus Sulpitius Camerinus, were chosen consuls. During their administration, Sicinius, the tribune, used his utmost endeavours to get the law passed for removing half the people and senate to Veii. A. Virginius and Q. Pomponius, two of the tribunes of the people for the last year, who had opposed it, were cited to appear before the tribes, and fined ten thousand ases of brass. The whole senate was offended at this sentence, but especially Camillus, who advised the conscript fathers to appear in the comitium, when the tribes assembled to determine the affair, as men prepared to defend their temples, their household gods, and their country. Accordingly the patricians by tears, intreaties, and the more powerful arguments drawn from religion, prevailed so far, that the law was rejected, though by a majority of one tribe. The senate was so well pleased with the people, that the next morning a decree was passed, assigning six acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, made no opposition to the election of consuls. L. Valerius Potitus, and M. Manlius Capitolinus, were raised to the consulate, and began their year by performing the vow made by Camillus, when dictator, to celebrate the Great Games. Of these there were two sorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of September, in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva ; the other called Votive, or extraordinary, had no fixed day, and was celebrated in honour of Jupiter only. This year the Volturni, one of the twelve

* Plut. in Camillo. Liv. lib. v. cap. 26, 27.

Hetrurian nations, alarmed at the fate of Veii and Falerii, took arms against Rome, and, being joined by the Salpinates, made incursions into the Roman territory; but a contagious distemper obliged the republic to suspend her revenge. The two consuls being seized with it, the superstitious multitude imagined they had been inauspiciously chosen. They were therefore ordered by the senate to resign¹.

Upon their resignation an interregnum ensued, during which the republic was governed by three presidents, Valerius Potitus (not the consul), Camillus, and Cornelius Scipio, who succeeded each other for a few days. Valerius held an assembly for the election of six military tribunes, (which sort of government was now re-established), that, in case some of the supreme magistrates should be infected with the contagion, there might still be others to take care of the public. By a census taken this year, it appeared, that the number of citizens, able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred fifty-two thousand five hundred and eighty-three². No wonder, therefore, that numerous armies were often raised within the walls of Rome; itself. The troops, since their receiving pay, were more obedient than formerly to their commanders, who kept them in the field summer and winter. They had never had a more gallant or experienced commander than Camillus. The frontiers of the republic were now extended above sixty miles beyond the Tiber, and the people seemed to be in a state of tranquility, and perfectly reconciled to the senate: but this unusual prosperity was interrupted by the Gauls; a memorable event, which almost ruined the Roman nation.

An interregnum.

Military tribunes elected anew.

At this time envoys arrived at Rome from the inhabitants of Clusium, imploring the assistance of the republic against an army of Gauls, which had made an irruption into Italy, and now besieged their city. The occasion of the irruption and siege was this: Arunx, one of the chief men of Clusium, in Hetruria, had been guardian to a young lucumo, or lord of a lucumony, and had educated him in his house from his infancy. The lucumo, as soon as he was of an age to feel the force of passion, fell in love with his guardian's wife, and found means to convey her away. Arunx endeavoured to obtain reparation for the injury he had received; but the lucumo, by his interest and money, gained over the magistrates; so that the

What occasioned the irruption of the Gauls.

¹ Lib. lib. v. cap. 29—31.

² Idem ibid. cap. 31, 32.

injured guardian, finding no protectors in *Hetruria*, resolved to make his application to the *Gauls*. The people to whom he chose to address himself were the *Senones*; and, in order to engage them in his quarrel, he acquainted them with the great plenty of *Italy*, and made them taste of some *Italian wines*. The *Senones* thus allured and encouraged, resolved to follow his advice. A numerous army was immediately formed, which, passing the *Alps* under the conduct of their *Hetrurian* guide, and leaving the *Celtæ* in *Italy* unmolested, fell upon *Umbria*, and possessed themselves of all the country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*. They spent about six years in settling themselves in their new acquisitions, while the *Romans* were carrying on the siege of *Veii*. At length *Arunx* brought the *Senones* before *Clusium*, in order to besiege that place, where his wife and her lover resided ^a.

*Clusium be-
sieged by
the Gauls.*

The *Romans*, notwithstanding the daily conquests made by the *Gauls*, seem to have been under no apprehension of any danger; for at this time *Camillus*, the only general they had capable of making opposition to such formidable neighbours, was accused by *Apuleius*, one of the tribunes of the people, of having applied to his own use some spoils taken from the *Hetrurians*, particularly a brass door brought from *Veii*. His friends, not finding themselves strong enough to protect him, promised to pay the fine which should be laid upon him; but *Camillus*, having too great a soul to bear the affront of a public condemnation, retired from *Rome*, and went voluntarily into banishment ^b.

*A malicious
accusation
brought
against
Camillus,
who ba-
nishes him-
self.*

He was no sooner gone than the envoys, mentioned above, arrived. The senate, being unwilling to engage in an open war with a people who had never offended them, sent an embassy of three young patricians, all brothers, of the *Fabian* family, to effect an accommodation between the two nations. These ambassadors, being arrived at the camp of the *Gauls*, and conducted into the council, offered the mediation of *Rome*; and demanded of *Brennus*, the leader of the *Gauls*, what injury the *Clusini* had done him; or what pretensions any people from a remote country could have upon *Hetruria*. *Brennus* answered proudly, that his right lay in his sword, and that all things belonged to the brave; but that, without having recourse to this primitive law of nature, he had a just complaint against the *Clusians*, who, having more lands than

*Brennus's
answer to
the Roman
envoys.*

^a Liv. lib. v. cap. 33.

^b Idem ibid. cap. 38.

they could cultivate, had refused to yield to him those they left untilled. And what other motives had you, Romans (said he), to conquer so many neighbouring nations? You have deprived the Sabines, the Albans, the Fidenates, the Æqui, and the Volsci, of the best part of their territories. Not that we accuse you of injustice; but it is evident that you considered this as the prime and most ancient of all laws, to make the weak give way to the strong. Forbear, therefore, to interest yourselves for the Clusini; or allow us to take the part of the people you have subdued^c.

The Fabii were provoked at so haughty an answer; but, dissembling their resentment, desired leave to go into the town, under pretence of conferring with the magistrates. But they were no sooner admitted into the place, than they began to excite the inhabitants to a vigorous defence; and, forgetting their character, they put themselves at the head of the besieged in a sally, in which Q. Fabius, the chief of the ambassadors, slew one of the principal officers of the Gauls. Provoked by this outrage, Brennus, calling the gods to witness the perfidiousness of the Romans, and their violating the law of nations, immediately broke up the siege of Clusium, and marched leisurely to Rome, having sent a herald before him to demand, that those ambassadors, who had so manifestly violated the law of nations, should be delivered into his hands. The Roman senate was perplexed between their regard for the law of nations, and their affection for the Fabii. The wisest of the senate thought the demand of the Gauls just and reasonable; however, as it concerned persons of great consequence and credit, they referred the affair to the people assembled by curiæ. As the Fabian family was very popular, the curiæ were so far from condemning the three brothers, that, at the next election of military tribunes, they were the first chosen. Brennus, looking upon the promotion of the Fabii as an affront on his nation, hastened his march to Rome^d.

The imprudent behaviour of the Roman ambassadors.

Brennus marches to Rome.

His army being very numerous, the inhabitants of the towns and villages, through which he passed, left their habitations at his approach; but he made no halt, declaring that his design was only to be revenged on the Romans. The six military tribunes, Q. Fabius, Cæso Fabius, Caius Fabius, Q. Sulpitius, Q. Servilius, and Sextus Cornelius, marched out of Rome at the head of forty

^c Liv. lib. v. cap. 35.

^d Idem ibid. cap. 36.

The Romans defeated by the Gauls on the banks of the Allia.

thousand men, without either sacrificing to the gods, or consulting the auspices; essential ceremonies among a people that drew their courage and confidence from the propitious signs which the augurs explained. As most of the military tribunes were young, and men of more valour than experience, they advanced boldly against the Gauls, whose army amounted to seventy thousand effective men. The two armies met near the river Allia, about sixty furlongs from Rome. The Romans, that they might not be surrounded by the enemy, extended their wings so far as to weaken their centre. Their best troops, to the number of twenty-four thousand men, they posted between the river and the adjoining hills; the rest they placed on the hills. The Gauls first attacked the latter, who being soon put into confusion, the forces in the plain were struck with such terror, that they fled without drawing their swords. In this general disorder, most of the soldiers, instead of returning to Rome, fled to Veii; some were drowned as they endeavoured to swim across the Tiber; many fell in the pursuit by the swords of the conquerors, and some reached Rome, which they filled with terror and consternation, by reporting that all the rest were cut off. The day after the battle, Brennus marched to the neighbourhood of Rome, and encamped on the banks of the Anio. Thither his scouts brought him advice, that the gates of the city lay open, and that not one Roman was to be seen on the ramparts. This intelligence made him apprehensive of some ambuscade, as he could not suppose, that the Romans would abandon their city to be plundered and sacked without making any resistance. On this consideration he advanced slowly, and his deliberation gave the Romans an opportunity to throw into the Capitol all the men who were fit to bear arms. They carried into it all the provisions they could procure; and, that they might last the longer, admitted none into the place but such as were capable of service.

The city of Rome abandoned by its inhabitants.

As for the city, they had not sufficient forces to defend it; and therefore the old men, women, and children, seeing themselves abandoned, fled to the neighbouring towns. The Vestals, before they left Rome, took care to hide every thing appropriated to the gods, which they could not carry off. The two palladiums, and the sacred fire, they took with them. When they came to the Janiculus, one Albinus, a plebeian, who was conveying his wife and children in a carriage to a place of safety, seeing the sacred virgins bending under their load, and their feet wounded

wounded by the rough pavement, caused his family to alight, put the priestesses and their gods into the carriage, and conducted them to Cære, a city of Hetruria, where they met with a favourable reception. The vestals remained at Cære, and there continued to perform the usual rites of religion; and hence those rites were called ceremonies. While the rest of the citizens were providing for their safety, fourscore of the most illustrious men, rather than fly from their native city, chose to devote themselves to death by a vow, which Fabius, the high pontiff, pronounced in their names. The Romans believed, that by these voluntary devotements to the infernal gods, disorder and confusion were brought among the enemy. Of these brave old men some were pontifices, others had been consuls, and others generals of armies, who had been honoured with triumphs. To complete their sacrifice with a solemnity and pomp becoming the magnanimity and constancy of the Romans, they dressed themselves in their pontifical, consular, and triumphal robes, and, repairing to the forum, seated themselves there in their curule chairs, expecting the enemy and death with the greatest constancy*.

Eighty venerable men devote themselves to death.

Brennus, having spent three days in useless precautions, entered the city on the fourth day after the battle. He found the gates open, the walls without defence, and the houses without inhabitants. Rome appeared to him like a mere desert; and this solitude encreased his suspicion. He could not believe, either that all the Romans were lodged in the Capitol, or that so numerous a people should abandon the place of their nativity. On the other hand, he could no where see any armed men but on the walls of the citadel. However, having first secured all the avenues to the Capitol with strong bodies of guards, he gave the rest of his soldiers leave to disperse themselves all over the city, and plunder the houses. Brennus himself advanced into the forum with the troops under his command, in good order; and there he was struck with admiration at the unexpected sight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themselves to death. Their magnificent habits, the majesty of their countenances, the silence they kept, their modesty and constancy at the approach of his troops, inspired him with a belief that they were so many deities: for they continued as motionless as statues, and saw the enemy advance without betraying

Brennus enters Rome.

* Plut. in Camillo. Liv. lib. v. cap. 37—40.

the least concern. The Gauls kept a great while at an awful distance from them, being afraid to approach. At length one soldier, bolder than the rest, having, out of curiosity, touched the beard of M. Papirius, senior, he, not being used to such familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory staff. The soldier immediately killed him; and the rest of the Gauls, following his example, slaughtered all those venerable patriots without mercy ^f.

After this massacre, the enemy set no bounds to their fury. They plundered all places, dragging those Romans who had shut themselves up in their houses, into the streets, and there put them to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. Brennus then invested the Capitol; but being repulsed with great loss, in order to be revenged of the Romans for their resistance, he resolved to lay the city in ashes. Accordingly, by his command, the soldiers set fire to the houses, demolished the temples, and public edifices, and razed the walls to the ground. Thus was the famous city of Rome entirely destroyed; nothing was to be seen in the place where it stood, but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a waste, in which the Gauls, who invested the Capitol, were encamped. Brennus, finding he should never be able to take a place, which nature had so well fortified, otherwise than by famine, turned the siege into a blockade. But, in the mean time, his army wanting provisions, he sent out parties to pilage the fields, and raise contributions in the neighbouring cities. One of these parties appeared before Ardea, where Camillus had now spent two years in privacy and retirement. Notwithstanding the affront he had received at Rome, the love he bore his country was not in the least diminished. The senate of Ardea being met to deliberate on the measures to be taken with relation to the Gauls, Camillus, more afflicted at the calamities of his country than at his own banishment, desired to be admitted into the council, where he prevailed upon the Ardeates to arm their youth in their own defence, and refuse the Gauls admittance into their city.

The Gauls had encamped before the place; and, as they despised the Ardeates after they had made themselves masters of Rome, they preserved neither order nor discipline in the camp, but spent whole days in drinking. Camillus, having easily persuaded the youth of the city

Yr. of Fl.
1965.
Ante Chr.
383.
U. C. 365.

*Rome burnt
by the
Gauls.*

*Camillus
makes a
great
slaughter
of the
Gauls.*

^f Liv. lib. v. cap. 41.

to follow him, marched out of Ardea in a dark night, surprised the enemy drowned in wine, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. Those, who made their escape under the shelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peasants, by whom they were massacred without mercy. This defeat of the enemy revived the courage of the Romans scattered about the country, especially of those who had retired to Veii after the unfortunate battle of Allia. There was not one of them who did not condemn himself for the exile of Camillus, as if he had been the author of it; and, looking upon that great man as their last resource, resolved to choose him for their leader. Accordingly, they sent without delay messengers to him, beseeching him to take into his protection the fugitive Romans, and the wrecks of the defeat at Allia. But Camillus would not accept of the command of the troops, till the people, assembled by curiæ, had legally conferred it upon him. He thought the public authority was lodged in the hands of those who were shut up in the citadel, and therefore would undertake nothing at the head of the Roman troops, till a commission was brought him from thence.

To procure this, was very difficult, the place being invested on all sides by the enemy. However, one Pontius Cominius, a man of mean birth, but bold, and ambitious of glory, undertook the service. He put on a light habit, surrounded with pieces of cork to keep him a-float, and plunging into the Tiber above Rome in the beginning of the night, suffered himself to be carried down with the stream. Thus wafted to the foot of the Capitol, he landed at a steep place, where the Gauls had not thought it necessary to post any centinels. There he mounted, with great difficulty, to the rampart of the citadel, and having made himself known to the guard, was admitted into the place, and conducted to the magistrates. The senate being immediately assembled, Pontius gave them an account of Camillus's victory, and, in the name of all the Romans at Veii, demanded that great captain for their general. There was not much time spent in debates: the curiæ being convened, the act of condemnation, which had been passed on Camillus, was abrogated, and he was named dictator unanimously. Pontius was immediately dispatched with the decree; and the same good fortune, which had attended him to the Capitol, accompanied him in his return. Thus was Camillus, from the state of banishment, raised at once to be sovereign magistrate of his

*Camillus
nominated
dictator.*

his country. He was indeed proclaimed dictator in his absence, contrary to custom : but this was a small defect in point of form, which the necessities of the state made necessary. His promotion to the command was no sooner known, than soldiers flocked from all parts to his camp ; insomuch that he soon saw himself at the head of above forty thousand men, partly Romans, and partly allies, who thought themselves invincible under so great a general ⁵.

*The Gauls
attempt to
surprize
the Capitol.*

While he was employed in taking proper measures to raise the blockade of the citadel, some Gauls, rambling round the place, perceived on the side of the hill, the print of Pontius's hands and feet. They observed likewise, that the moss on the rocks was in several places torn up ; and concluded, that some person had lately ascended to the Capitol. The Gauls made their report to Brennus of what they had observed ; and that experienced commander laid a design of surprizing the place by the same way that the Roman had ascended. With this view he chose such soldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accustomed to climb precipices. These he ordered, after he had well examined the nature of the place, to ascend in the night the same way that was marked out for them, climbing two a-breast, that one might support the other in surmounting the steep parts of the precipice. By these means they advanced with much difficulty, and more danger, from rock to rock, till they arrived at the foot of the wall. They proceeded with such silence, that they were not discovered or heard, either by the centinels who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs, that are usually awaked and alarmed at the least noise. But though they eluded the sagacity of the dogs, they could not escape the vigilance of the geese. Some of these birds were kept in a court of the Capitol, in honour of Juno. Notwithstanding the want of provisions in the garrison, they had been spared ; and as these creatures are naturally quick of hearing, they were alarmed at the first approach of the Gauls ; so that, running up and down, cackling, and flapping their wings, they awaked Manlius, a gallant soldier, who some years before had been consul. He forthwith sounded an alarm, and was the first man who mounted the rampart, where he found two Gauls already upon the wall. One of these lifted up his battle-ax to strike ; but Manlius cut off his right-hand at one blow, and struck the other with his buckler so

*They are
discovered
by the cack-
ling of some
geese ;*

*and repul-
sed by the
bravery of
M. Man-
lius ;*

⁵ Plut. in Camillo. Liv. lib. v. cap. 46.

violently,

violently, that he was precipitated from the top of the rock to the ground, and drew many after him in his fall; while the Romans crouding to the place, overthrew them as fast as they reached the summit. As the nature of the ground would not suffer them to make a regular retreat, or even to fly, most of them, to avoid the swords of the enemy, threw themselves down the precipice; so that very few returned to their camp^h.

As it was the custom of the Romans at that time not to suffer any commendable action to pass unrewarded, the tribune Sulpitius assembled his troops next morning, in order to bestow the military rewards on those who had distinguished themselves on the preceding night. Manlius was first named, and, in acknowledgement of the important service he had just rendered the state, every soldier gave him part of the corn which he received sparingly from the public stock, and a little measure of wine out of his scanty allowance; an inconsiderable present indeed in itself, but very acceptable at that time to the person on whom it was bestowed. The tribune's next care was to punish the negligent: accordingly, the captain of the guard, who ought to have had an eye over the centinels, was condemned to die, and, pursuant to his sentence, thrown down from the top of the Capitol. The Romans extended their punishments and rewards even to the animals. Geese were ever after had in honour at Rome, and a number of them always kept at the expence of the public. A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of this event, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a soft litter finely adorned; whilst dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them on a branch of elderⁱ.

The blockade of the Capitol had lasted seven months; so that the famine began to be very sensibly felt both by the besieged and besiegers. Camillus, since his nomination to the dictatorship, being master of the country, had posted strong guards on all the roads; so that the Gauls were in fear of being cut to pieces. Thus Brennus, who besieged the Capitol, was himself besieged, and suffered the same inconveniencies which he made the Romans undergo. Besides, a plague raged in his camp, which was placed in the midst of the ruins of the demolished city, his men lying confusedly among the dead carcases of the Romans, who had been slain, and lay unburied. So great

who is rewarded by the tribune Sulpitius.

Geese had in honour at Rome.

Gauls and Romans reduced to distress.

^h Liv. lib. v. cap. 47. Plut. in Camillo. & de Fortuna Rom.
ⁱ Liv. lib. v. cap. 47. Plin. & Plut. de Fortuna Rom.

a number of them died in one quarter of the city, that it was afterwards called *Busta Gallica*, or the place where the dead bodies of the Gauls were burnt. But the Romans in the Capitol were reduced to extremity, and ignorant of the lamentable condition to which the enemy's army was brought, and of the steps Camillus was taking for their relief. That great general only waited for a favourable opportunity to fall upon the enemy; but, in the mean time, suffered them to pine away in their infected camp, not knowing the extreme want the Romans endured in the Capitol, where they were so destitute of all sorts of provisions, that they could no longer subsist. From the mutual distress on both sides, the centinels of the Capitol, and those of the enemy's army, began to talk to one another of an accommodation. Their discourses reached the ears of their leaders, who were not averse to the design.

The besieged and besiegers enter upon a treaty.

The Romans agree to purchase a peace.

The senate, not knowing what was become of Camillus, resolved to enter upon a negotiation, and empowered Sulpitius, one of the military tribunes, to treat with the Gauls, who made no difficulty in coming to terms, they being no less desirous than the Romans to end the war. In a conference, therefore, between Brennus and Sulpitius, an agreement was made, and sworn to, importing that the Romans should pay to the Gauls a thousand pounds weight of gold, that is, forty-five thousand pounds sterling; and the latter raise the siege of the Capitol, and quit all the Roman territories. On the day appointed, Sulpitius brought the stipulated sum, and Brennus produced the scales and weights. We are told, that the weights of the Gauls were false, and their scales untrue; which iniquity Sulpitius complaining of, Brennus, instead of redressing the injustice, threw his sword and belt into the scale, exclaiming, "*Væ victis!* Woe to the conquered!" Sulpitius was so stung with this insult, that he declared his opinion for carrying the gold back into the Capitol, and sustaining the siege to the last extremity; but others thought it advisable to proceed, since they had submitted to a far greater disgrace, in agreeing to pay any thing.

Camillus surprises Brennus, and drives the Gauls from Rome.

During these disputes between the Roman deputies and the Gauls, Camillus advanced with his army to the gates of the city, where being informed of what was transacting, he commanded the main body to follow him slowly, and in good order, while he, with a select body, hastened to the place where the parties were met. The Romans, overjoyed at his unexpected arrival, made room for him,

as the supreme magistrate of the republic, gave him an account of the treaty they had made with the Gauls, and complained of the injustice and rapacity of Brennus. They had scarce done speaking, when Camillus cried out, "Carry back this gold into the Capitol; and you, Gauls, retire with your scales and weights. Rome must not be redeemed with gold, but with steel." Brennus replied, that he contravened a treaty which was concluded and confirmed with mutual oaths. "Be it so, (answered Camillus); yet it is of no force, having been made by an inferior magistrate, without the privity or consent of the dictator. I, who am invested with the supreme authority over the Romans, declare the contract void." At these words Brennus flew into a rage, and, both sides drawing their swords, a confused scuffle ensued among the ruins of the houses, and in the narrow lanes. The Gauls, after an inconsiderable loss, thought fit to retire within their camp, which they abandoned in the night, not caring to engage Camillus's whole army, and, having marched eight miles, encamped on the Gabinian Way. Camillus pursued them as soon as it was day, and gave them a total overthrow. The Gauls, according to Livy, made a faint resistance. It was not, says that author, so much a battle as a slaughter. Many were slain in the action, more in the pursuit; but the greater number were cut off, as they wandered the fields, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. In short, there was not a Gaul left to carry to his countrymen the news of this fatal catastrophe. The camp of the Barbarians was plundered; and Camillus, loaded with spoils, returned in triumph to the city, the soldiers, in their songs, styling him "Romulus, father of his country,* and second founder of Rome *."

As the houses of Rome were all demolished, and the walls rased, the tribunes of the people renewed, with more warmth than ever, the old project, of a law for dividing the senate and government between the cities of Veii and Rome. Most of the tribunes were for entirely abandoning their old ruined city, and making Veii the sole seat of the empire. The people were inclined to favour this project, Veii offering them a place fortified by art and nature, good houses ready built, a wholesome air, and a fruitful territory: but they had no materials for rebuilding a city, were exhausted by misfortunes, and their strength was greatly diminished. These considerations.

The tribunes renewed the proposal of removing to Veii.

* Plut. de Fortuna Rom. Liv. lib. v. cap. 49.

*Camillus
continued
dictator.*

inspired them with a reluctance to so great an undertaking, and emboldened the tribunes to utter seditious harangues against Camillus, as a man too ambitious of being the restorer of Rome. They even insinuated, that the name of Romulus, which had been given him, threatened the republic with a new king. But the senate supported Camillus, and, being desirous to see Rome rebuilt, continued him, contrary to custom, a full year in the office of dictator; during which time he made it his whole business to suppress the strong inclination of the people to remove to Veii. Having assembled the curiæ, he expostulated with them, and, by arguments drawn from prudence, religion, and glory, prevailed upon them to lay aside all thoughts of leaving Rome. As it was necessary to have the resolution of the people confirmed by the senate, the dictator reported it to the fathers, leaving every one at liberty to vote as he pleased. While L. Lucretius, who was to give his opinion, was beginning to speak, a centurion, who, with his company, had been upon guard, and was then marching by the senate-house, cried out aloud, "Plant your colours, ensign. This is the best place to stay in." These words were considered as dictated by the gods, and Lucretius, taking occasion from them to urge the necessity of staying at Rome, "An happy omen! (cried he), I adore the gods who gave it." The whole senate applauded his words, and a decree was passed without opposition for rebuilding the city ¹.

*A decree
passed for
rebuilding
the city.*

*Q. Fabius
lays violent
hands
on himself.*

Though the tribunes of the people were defeated by Camillus in this point, they resolved to exercise their authority against another patrician, who had indeed deserved punishment. This was Q. Fabius, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby provoked the Gauls, and occasioned the burning of Rome. His crime being notorious, he was summoned by C. Martius Rutilus before the assembly of the people, to answer for his conduct in his embassy. The criminal had reason to fear the severest punishment; but his relations affirmed, that he died suddenly; an accident which generally happened, when the accused person had courage enough to prevent his condemnation, and the shame of a public punishment^m. On the other hand, the republic gave a house situate on the Capitol to M. Manlius, as a monument of his valour, and of the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. Camillus closed this year by laying down his dictatorship;

¹ Plut. in Camillo, Liv. lib. v. cap. 50, 55.
cap. i.

^m Liv. lib. vi.

whereupon an interregnum ensued, during which he governed the state alternately with P. Cornelius Scipio; and he presided at the election of new magistrates, when L. Valerius Poplicola, L. Virginus Tricostus, P. Cornelius Cossus, A. Manlius Capitolinus, L. Æmilius Mamercinus, and L. Posthumius Albinus, were chosen. The first care of these magistrates was to collect all the ancient monuments of the religion and civil laws of Rome, which could be found among the ruins of the demolished city. The laws of the Twelve Tables, and some of the laws of the kings, had been written on brass, and fixed up in the forum; and the treaties made with several nations had been engraved on pillars erected in the temples. Pains were therefore taken to collect the ruins of those precious monuments; and what could not be found was supplied by memory. The pontifices, on their part, took care to re-establish the religious ceremonies, and made also a list of lucky and unlucky days^a. Among the latter, the seventeenth day of August was particularly marked as execrable, on account of two unfortunate events, namely, the destruction of the three hundred Fabii near the Cremera, and the defeat of Allia by the Gauls. On this day, no sacrifice was offered, no justice administered, and no expedition begun.

The governors of the republic applied themselves wholly to rebuild the city. Plutarch relates, that as the workmen were digging among the ruins of the temple of Mars, they found Romulus's augural staff untouched by the flames; and observes, this was looked upon as a prodigy, from whence the Romans inferred, that their city would continue for ever. The expence of rebuilding private houses was partly defrayed out of the public treasure. The ædiles had the direction of the works, but so little taste for order or beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even less regular than in the time of Romulus. And though, in Augustus's time, the temples, palaces, and private houses, were built in a more magnificent manner than before, yet even then these new decorations did not rectify the faults of the plan upon which the city had been built after its first demolition.

^a Idem *ibid.*

C H A P. XXXIX.

From the Rebuilding of Rome, to the First Punic or Carthaginian War.

S E C T. I.

From the Rebuilding of the City, to the Roman Army being forced by the Samnites to pass under the Yoke; and the Treaty with that People.

Yr. of Fl.

1969.

Ante Chr.

379.

U. C. 369.

Camillus a third time named dictator.

ROME was scarce restored, when her citizens were alarmed by the news, that all her neighbours were conspiring her destruction. The ~~A~~qui, the Volsci, the Hetrurians, and even her old allies the Latins and the Hernici, entered into an alliance, in hopes of crushing her before she had recovered her strength. The republic, under this terror, nominated Camillus dictator a third time. This great commander, having appointed C. Servilius to be general of horse, summoned the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies. The first, under the command of A. Manlius, he ordered to encamp under the walls of Rome; the second he sent into the neighbourhood of Veii; and marched himself, at the head of the third, to relieve the tribunes, who were closely besieged in their camp by the united forces of the Volsci and Latins. Finding the enemy encamped near Lanuvium, on the declivity of the hill, he posted himself behind it, and, by lighting fires, gave the distressed Romans notice of his arrival. The Volsci and Latins, when they understood that Camillus was at the head of an army newly arrived, were so terrified, that they shut themselves up in their camp, which they fortified with great trees cut down in haste. The dictator, observing that this barrier was of green wood, and that every morning there arose a great wind, which blew full upon the enemy's camp, formed the design of reducing it by fire. With this view he ordered one part of his army to go by break of day with fire-brands to kindle the wood to windward of the camp, and the other to make a vigorous attack on the opposite side. By this contrivance the enemy was entirely defeated, and their camp taken. Camillus then commanded the flames to be extinguished, in order to save the
booty,

Defeats the Volsci and Latins.

booty, with which he rewarded his army; a bounty the more agreeable, because unexpected from the rigid dictator. He then left his son in the camp, to guard the prisoners; and entering the country of the Æqui, made himself master of their capital city Bola. From thence he marched against the Volsci, whom he entirely reduced, after they had waged war with the Romans for a hundred and seven years. Having subdued this untractable people, he penetrated into Hetrumia, in order to relieve Sutrium, a town in alliance with Rome, at that time besieged by a numerous army of Heturians. But he did not reach the place before it had capitulated. The Sutrini, being greatly distressed for want of provisions, and exhausted with labour, had surrendered to the Heturians, who granted them nothing but their lives. In this destitute condition they were going in search of new habitations, when they met Camillus leading an army to their relief.

The unfortunate multitude threw themselves at the dictator's feet, who, moved at this melancholy sight, desired them to refresh themselves, adding, that he would soon transfer their sorrows from them to their enemies. He imagined, that the Heturians would be employed in plundering the city, without being on their guard, or observing any discipline. And in this conjecture he was not mistaken. The Heturians did not imagine, that the dictator could come so speedily from such a distance to surprise them; and therefore the Roman army passed through the territory of Sutrium, without finding any advanced guards, and even entered the city before the enemy had any notice of their approach. In a word, he surprised the Heturians, who were employed in plundering the houses, and carrying off the booty, or in feasting on the provisions they had found. He put many of them to the sword; made an incredible number of prisoners, and restored the city to its ancient inhabitants, who had not waited in vain for the performance of the dictator's promise. After these glorious exploits, the great Camillus entered Rome in triumph a third time ° (B).

*Recovers
Sutrium
from the
Hetru-
rians.*

Camillus

° Plut. in Camill.

(B) This honour was decreed for having conquered the Volsci, made himself master of the capital city of the Æqui, and retaken Sutrium from the Heturians. The greatest part of

the captives, who graced his triumph, were sold, and money raised to pay all the Roman ladies for the jewels they had formerly contributed to make a present to Apollo.

*Cortuosa
and Contenebra
taken and
demolished.*

Camillus having resigned his dictatorship, the republic chose six new military tribunes, Q. Quinctius, Q. Servius, L. Julius, L. Aquilius, L. Lucretius, and Ser. Sulpitius. During their administration the country of the Æqui was laid waste, in order to deprive them of the power to revolt; and the two cities of Cortuosa and Contenebra, in the lucumony of the Tarquinienfes, were taken from the Hetrurians, and entirely demolished. At this time it was thought proper to repair the Capitol, and add new works to that part of the hill where the Gauls had endeavoured to scale the citadel. These works were esteemed beautiful, as Livy informs us, even in the time of Augustus, after the city was adorned with a variety of decorations^p.

New disturbances.

Rome being reinstated in her former flourishing condition, the tribunes of the people began to renew their seditious harangues, and revive the dispute about the division of the conquered lands. The patricians had appropriated to themselves the Pomptin territory lately taken from the Volsci, and the tribunes embraced this opportunity to raise new disturbances. But the citizens being so drained of their money, that they had not enough left to cultivate new farms, and stock them with cattle, the declamations of the tribunes made no impression upon their minds, so that the project vanished. As for the military tribunes, they owned, that their election had been defective, and therefore, they voluntarily laid down their office. So that, after a short interregnum, during which M. Manlius, Ser. Sulpitius, and L. Valerius Potitus, governed the republic, six new military tribunes, L. Papirius, C. Sergius, L. Æmilius, L. Menenius, L. Valerius, and C. Cornelius, were chosen for the ensuing year, which was employed in works of peace. A temple, which had been vowed to Mars during the war with the Gauls, was built, and consecrated by T. Quinctius, who presided over the

^p Liv. lib. vi. cap. 4.

With the remainder were of all his rivals. Envious men bought three vases of gold, which, with Camillus's name inscribed on them, were placed at the feet of Juno in the temple of Jupiter. Thus did the glory of Camillus eclipse that of all his rivals. Envious men had hitherto ascribed the greatest part of his victories to chance. But, after these three last expeditions against three different nations, envy itself was silent (1).

(1) Plut. *ibid.* Liv. lib. vi. cap. 2. & 3. Macrobian. part i. cap. 2. Eutrop. lib. ii.

affairs

affairs of religion. As there had hitherto been but few Roman tribes beyond the Tiber, which had a right of suffrage in the comitia, four new ones were added, under the names of the Stellatina, Tramontina, Sabatina, and Arniensis; so that the whole number now amounted to twenty-five.

The expectation of an approaching war induced the centuries to chuse Camillus one of the military tribunes for the next year. His colleagues were Ser. Cornelius, Q. Servilius, L. Quinctius, L. Horatius, and P. Valerius. As all these were men of moderation, they agreed to invest Camillus with the sole management of military affairs, and accordingly, in full senate, transferred all their power into his hands; so that he became in effect dictator. It had been already determined to turn the arms of the republic against the Heturians; but upon advice that the Antiates had entered the Pomptin territory, and obliged the Romans, who had taken possession of it, to retire, it was thought necessary to humble them before the republic engaged in any other enterprize. Camillus allotted to each of the five military tribunes an employment suitable to his rank. He joined P. Valerius with himself in the command of the army which he was to lead against the Antiates; Q. Servilius was placed at the head of a body of troops, which was to continue in Rome, and be in readiness to march against the Heturians or Latins and Hernici, in case they took the field; the third army consisted of old men, and such citizens as were excused, on account of their infirmities, from taking the field. The command of these was given to L. Quinctius, who was appointed to guard the walls of the city. L. Horatius's province was, to supply the troops with arms, ammunition, and provisions. Lastly, the superintendency of civil affairs, the comitia, the laws and religion, were committed to the care of Ser. Cornelius. So that none of the military tribunes was left without employment: they all readily accepted the provinces which Camillus assigned them: Valerius only refused to be equal with Camillus; "You shall be my dictator, (said he), and I will serve under you as general of the horse."

*Camillus
chosen one
of the mili-
tary tri-
bunes.*

The Antiates had joined the Latins and Hernici near Satricum, so that the Romans, alarmed at their prodigious number, seemed backward to engage. Camillus perceiving their reluctance, instantly mounted his horse, and riding through the ranks of the army, "Fellow soldiers, (cried he), why do not I see that joy and desire of fighting

*The Anti-
tes, Latins,
and Her-
nici, de-
feated by
Camillus.*

in your looks which you used to have? Have you forgot who I am, who you, and who your enemies are? Have not the Volsci and Latins been the occasion of your gaining immortal fame? Have you not conquered Veii, defeated the Gauls, and delivered Rome, under my command? Am I not Camillus, because I have not the title of dictator? Do you but attack the enemy, and we shall succeed as usual. You will conquer, and they will fly." Having uttered these words, he dismounted, took the next standard-bearer by the hand, led him towards the enemy, and cried out, "Soldiers, advance." The soldiery were ashamed not to follow a general who exposed himself to the first attack; and therefore having raised a great shout, they fell upon the enemy with incredible fury. Camillus, in order to increase their eagerness, commanded a standard to be thrown into the middle of the enemy's battalions; a circumstance which made the soldiers, who were fighting in the first ranks, exert all their resolution to recover it. The Antiates, not being able any longer to withstand the Romans, gave way, and were entirely defeated. The Latins and Hernici separated from the Volsci, and returned home. The Volsci, thus abandoned by their allies, took refuge in the neighbouring city of Satricum, which Camillus immediately invested, and took by assault. The Volsci threw down their arms and surrendered at discretion. He then left his army under the command of Valerius, and returned to Rome, to solicit the consent of the senate, and to make the necessary preparations for undertaking the siege of Antium^a.

But, while he was proposing this affair to the senate, deputies arrived from Nepete and Sutrium, two cities in alliance with Rome in the neighbourhood of Hettruria, demanding succours against the Hettrurians, who threatened to besiege them. As these were the keys of Hettruria, the expedition against Antium was laid aside, and Camillus commanded to hasten to the relief of the allied cities with the troops which Servilius had kept in readiness at Rome, in case of an emergency. Camillus immediately began his march; and, upon his arrival before Sutrium, found that important place not only besieged, but almost taken, the Hettrurians having made themselves masters of some of the gates, and gained possession of all the avenues leading to the city. However, the inhabitants no sooner heard that Camillus was come to their relief, than they

*Camillus
relieves
Sutrium,*

^a Liv. lib. vi. cap. 7, 8.

recovered their courage, and, by raising barricadoes in the streets, prevented the enemy from making themselves masters of the whole city. Camillus, having divided his army into two bodies, ordered Valerius to march round the walls, as if he designed to scale them, while he, with the other, undertook to charge the Heturians in the rear, force his way into the city, and shut up the enemy between the besieged and his troops. The Romans no sooner appeared, than the Heturians fled through a gate which was not invested. Camillus's troops made a dreadful slaughter of them within the city, while Valerius put great numbers to the sword without the walls. From reconquering Sutrium, Camillus hastened to the relief of Nepete. But that city being better affected to the Heturians than to the Romans, had voluntarily submitted to the former. Wherefore Camillus, having invested it with his whole army, took it by assault, put all the Heturian soldiers, without distinction, to the sword, and condemned the authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the lictors. Thus ended Camillus's military tribuneship, in which he gloriously maintained the great reputation he had formerly acquired.

*and takes
Nepete by
assault.*

Nevertheless he did not enjoy it without a rival. M. Manlius, who had saved the Capitol, could not bear to see his glory eclipsed by that of Camillus. He was, indeed, one of the bravest soldiers Rome had ever produced; but his ambition and vanity were yet greater than his valour. However, he did not attempt any thing till Camillus's fourth military tribuneship was expired. But no sooner was the government put into the hands of six new military tribunes, A. Manlius, P. Cornelius, T. Quinctius, L. Quinctius, L. Papirius, and C. Sergius, than he endeavoured to darken the glory of a man whom he looked upon as his rival. "After all, Camillus's chief glory (said he), is his having recovered Rome out of the hands of the Gauls, which he could never have done had I not first saved the Capitol; so that his glory is founded upon mine. Nor did he conquer the Gauls till they had been tired with a long siege; but I repulsed them from the Capitol, when they were flushed with success. A whole army shared Camillus's glory, but Manlius had no companion in his." By these, and other such insinuations, he gave vent to his envy; but finding himself unable, by

*Manlius
suspected of
aspiring at
the supreme
power.*

† Liv. lib. vi. cap. 9, 10. Plut. in Camillo.

noble actions to outshine Camillus in reputation, in order to gratify his ambition, he began to court the multitude, and even entered into the faction of the tribunes of the people. Though a patrician by birth, he inveighed against the nobility, and espoused the cause of the people in the affair of the distribution of lands. He even opposed the rich whenever they seized their debtors, and set at liberty those who were already in chains : so that he was always attended by a kind of guard made up of those whom he had thus assisted. The senate, alarmed at his proceedings, thought it necessary to create a dictator, to prevent the evil consequences of his too great popularity, and to crush the rising faction. The army, which the Volsci had just then raised, furnished them with a specious pretence for taking such measures.

Yr. of Fl.
1973.
Ante Chr.
375.
U. C. 373.

*Cornelius
Cossus, dic-
tor.*

The dictatorship was given to A. Cornelius Cossus, who named T. Quinctius Capitolinus to be general of the horse. The dictator came to an engagement with the Volsci in the Pomptin territory, and entirely defeated them, though much more numerous than the Romans. Among the prisoners were found many Latins and Hernici of distinction, who confessed that they had acted by authority. Hereupon the dictator kept his army in the field, not doubting but he should be soon employed against those faithless allies. But the disturbances raised by the factious Manlius called him back to the city. It was necessary to examine into the designs of that ambitious man, whose popularity was become dangerous, and gave umbrage in a republican state, where the magistrates were always upon their guard against any thing that tended to monarchy. His bounties made so strong an impression on the multitude, that they seemed ready to support him in any enterprize he should undertake. He reported, that the nobility, not content to rob the people of their right to a share in the conquered lands, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own use, the gold which was to have been given to the Gauls, and had been raised by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens, who were then in the Capitol : a treasure which alone would be sufficient to discharge all the debts of the poor plebeians. He even promised to shew them, in due time, the place where this treasure was concealed ; so that the whole care of the populace was to draw those riches out of the hands of the patricians*.

* Plut. *ibid.* Liv. lib. vi. cap. 11.

Such was the posture of affairs at Rome, when the dictator Cossus returned thither. He postponed his triumph till he had re-established the public tranquillity. He assembled the senate; and, finding the fathers inclined to suppress Manlius's insolence, he ordered his tribunal to be placed in that part of the forum where the comitia were held, and sent a lictor to cite Manlius to appear before him. Manlius obeyed the summons, but attended with his usual guards. The assembly looked like two armies drawn up in battalia against each other. Silence being proclaimed, the dictator challenged Manlius to declare, as he had promised, the persons who had concealed the pretended treasures, and the place where they were hid; otherwise he threatened to send him to prison as an incendiary and slanderer. Manlius, instead of answering directly, extolled his own merit, and reproached the patricians with avarice and cruelty. He concluded his speech with saying, that, as to the secreted treasure, the senators, who had concealed it, were better qualified than he to discover the place. This being no more than an evasion, the dictator desired him either to perform his promise to the people, or to confess that he had calumniated the senate. Manlius replied, that his being pressed to declare the place where the gold was hoarded, was a proof that the senate had removed it beyond the reach of the most curious enquiry. But this answer was so unsatisfactory, that the dictator immediately ordered him to prison. We have, on this occasion, a surprising instance of the submission of the Romans to the command of a lawful magistrate. The people, however seditiously devoted to Manlius, took no step to hinder the execution of the sentence. There was not an angry expression heard, or a threatening look seen, in the whole assembly. Manlius only, when the lictors seized him, cried out, addressing his complaints to the gods, "O Jupiter, best and greatest, O Juno, queen of heaven, Minerva, and all who reside in the Capitol, will you suffer your champion and defender to be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this right hand, with which I drove the Gauls from your sanctuaries, be locked in chains?" These exclamations raised no disturbance among the multitude. His most zealous adherents expressed their concern only by putting on habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crowding about the doors of the prison, and there lamenting his misfortune.

Manlius cited to appear before the dictator;

and committed to prison.

*The senate
fearing the
rage of the
people, set
him at li-
berty.*

In this time of affliction the dictator Cossus received the honours of a triumph. But the multitude expressed a deep concern. Some were heard to say, that Cossus did not so much triumph over the Volsci, as over an oppressed citizen. Nothing, said they, remains to complete the general's triumph, but to have the unfortunate Manlius led before his chariot in chains. In order to appease the people, the senate thought it necessary to shew them some indulgence. They assembled, and, of their own motion, ordered a colony of Roman citizens to be sent to Sutrium, where they allotted to every man two acres and an half of arable land. This unexpected bounty was so far from satisfying the malcontents, that it encreased their rage and jealousy; for they looked upon this liberality of the senate as an artifice to induce the citizens to abandon Manlius: so that the sedition gained ground, and the fury of the populace increased still more, as soon as Cossus's dictatorship was expired. The multitude, being now free from the dread of an uncontrollable magistrate, no longer kept within bounds. The people, surrounding the prison day and night, threatened to break it open. The senate, fearing lest the incensed populace should execute what they threatened; and that Manlius, being set at liberty by such violent means, should carry his resentment to some violent extreme, thought fit to put an end to the disturbance, by releasing him of their own accord. But this weak measure served only to provide the populace with a dangerous leader, provoked by the shame of his imprisonment, and incapable of following sober counsels † (D).

When

† Liv. lib. vi. cap. 17.

(D) During these seditions, ambassadors arrived from the Latins, the Hernici, and the cities of Circei and Velitræ, demanding that the prisoners taken by the dictator in the late action with the Volsci, might be delivered up to them. The different reception they met with shews the distinction which the Romans always made between nations in alliance with them and Roman colonies. Circei and Velitræ were upon the foot of colonies, but the Latins and Hernici only in alliance with Rome: the latter enjoyed their own laws; the former were subject to the laws of Rome. The ambassadors, therefore, of the Latins and Hernici, were received; though their demand was rejected; nor did the Romans dispute their right of sending an embassy. But the deputies of Circei and Velitræ were ordered immediately

to

When new magistrates were elected for the next year, Camillus was chosen military tribune a fifth time, the republic wanting a governor of his reputation to stem the tide of the present troubles. With him were joined Ser. Cornelius, P. Valerius, Ser. Sulpicius, C. Papirius, and T. Quinctius. The confidence of Manlius, and the strength of his faction, were now much increased by the timorous conduct of the senate. The mutineers met at Manlius's house. There he spoke his mind without reserve, exhorting the multitude to shake off the yoke they groaned under, to abolish dictatorships and consulates, to establish an exact equality among all the members of one and the same republic, and to choose themselves a head, who would govern and keep in awe the patricians, as well as people. "If you judge me worthy of that honour," said he, "the more power you give me, the sooner you will be in possession of what you have so long wished for. I desire authority with no other view, than to make you all happy." It is said, that a plot was formed to seize the citadel, and declare him king; but it is not certain, that he embarked in so difficult an undertaking, or how far he carried his ambitious views. The senate, alarmed at the danger which threatened the republic, assembled frequently to deliberate on the best method to avert the blow. A decree was made, enjoining the military tribunes, to be watchful that the republic received no damage; a form of words never used but in great dangers, and which invested those magistrates with an authority almost equal to that of a dictator. Different means were proposed for defeating the designs of Manlius. All, except the tribunes of the people, were for assassinating the author of the sedition. But as such an attempt would have occasioned much bloodshed, two of those tribunes, M. Mænius, and Q. Publilius, thought it more advisable to punish him by the usual forms of law. They offered to prosecute him before the comitia, not doubting that the people, when they saw their tribunes become his accusers, would immediately desert his cause.

*He renews
his factious
intrigues.*

This advice was approved, and Manlius summoned to his trial before the comitia by centuries. The crime laid to his charge was aiming at the sovereign power; and, as this was capital, the accused appeared before his judges

*Impeached
by two of
the tri-
bunes of
treason.*

to depart, and not to appear had no right to send ambassadors (1).

(1) Liv. lib. vi. cap. 17.

in deep mourning. But neither his own brothers, nor any of his relations, changed their dress, nor solicited the judges in his behalf, as was usually done by the friends of a person accused; so much did the love of liberty prevail in the hearts of the Romans over all the ties of blood and kindred. Livy observes, that he could not find in any author what direct proofs the tribunes brought of Manlius's aspiring to the regal power. However, he supposes that they had sufficient proofs, since nothing but the circumstance of the place where he was tried, prevented his immediate condemnation. They could see the Capitol, which Manlius had preserved, from the Campus Martius, where his sentence was to be pronounced; and this sight alone abated the resentment of the centuries against the criminal; so that the people, who could neither resolve to condemn nor acquit him, delayed pronouncing sentence more than once, and every time postponed this affair for three market-days. In the mean time, Manlius omitted nothing that could move his judges to compassion. He produced above four hundred plebeians, whose debts he had paid, and whom he had delivered out of the hands of their creditors. He shewed the people thirty suits of armour, the spoils of thirty enemies, whom he had slain in single combat. He was the first Roman who had deserved a mural crown by fighting on horseback. He had been honoured with eight civic crowns, for having saved in battle the lives of so many citizens; and had been thirty-seven times rewarded by his generals for extraordinary valour. He had saved in battle the life of C. Servilius, when general of the horse, and had received two wounds on that occasion. But his greatest glory was his having defended the Capitol against the attack of the Gauls. This important service supported the criminal, notwithstanding the evident proofs of his crime. Looking often at the Capitol, he called upon Jupiter and the other gods for succour, conjuring the people to turn their faces to that sanctuary, and think of the gods, who resided there, when they were going to pronounce judgement. The people, having before their eyes the place where, by fighting so valiantly against the Gauls, he had saved Rome, could not resolve to find him guilty. The tribunes, perceiving their disposition, deferred the decision of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the assembly to be in the Peteline wood, without the gate Flumentana, whence the Capitol could not be seen. Then the object, which had saved

Manlius,

Manlius, no longer dazzling the eyes of his judges, they forgot his glory, and remembered only his crime. The public welfare gained the ascendant over their gratitude, and Manlius was condemned to be thrown headlong from the Capitol he had preserved. The sentence was no sooner pronounced than put in execution: the house, where he had held his private cabals, was razed to the ground; and it was decreed, that no patrician should thenceforth dwell in the Capitol, lest the advantageous situation of a fortress that commanded the whole city should suggest and facilitate the design of enslaving it. The Manlian family also came to a resolution among themselves, that no member of it should ever bear the præ-nomen of Marcus. But how inconstant is the multitude! Manlius was scarce dead, when his loss was generally lamented, and a plague, which soon followed, ascribed to the anger of Jupiter against the authors of his death^u.

*Condemned
and exe-
cuted.*

The punishment of the seditious Manlius neither brought any discredit upon his relations, nor lessened their interest. On the contrary, his brother A. Manlius was chosen one of the military tribunes at the very next election. His colleagues were, L. Valerius, Ser. Sulpicius, L. Lucretius, L. Æmilius, and M. Trebonius. During their administration, the Volsci threatened the republic with a new war; the cities of Circæi and Velitræ continued in their revolt; Lanuvium itself, which had been hitherto ever faithful to Rome, declared against her, and all the cities of Latium seemed ready to rise in their turns: and, to add to the misfortunes of the republic, the plague still raged in the city. However, the senate judged it necessary to engage the people to consent to a war. With this view, they promised to divide the Pomptin territory among them; and nominated five commissioners to regulate the distribution of the lands, and three others to lead a colony to Nepete: but this design was not put in execution till nine years after. However, the comitia by tribes being assembled, it was decreed, that a war should be declared with the several enemies of Rome, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes of the people. Accordingly, an army was raised; but the plague continuing to rage, the military tribunes could not lead their troops into the field. In the mean time, the inhabitants of Præneste, following the example of the other colonies, revolted, and committed great devastations in the territo-

Yr. of Fl.
1975.
Ante Chr.
373.
U. C. 373.

*Wars with
the Præ-
nestini and
Volsci.*

^u Plut. *ibid.* Liv. lib. vi. cap. 20.

ries of the Gabini, Tusculani, and Labicani, who continued steady in their alliance with Rome. Though these faithful allies brought complaints to the senate, of the hostilities committed in their districts, yet the fathers pretended not to believe them, choosing rather to dissemble, than to take up arms in their present unhappy situation. But the Romans, who scarce ever suffered any attempt against their republic to escape unpunished, only suspended their resentment; for in the military tribuneship of Sp. Papirius, L. Papirius, Ser. Cornelius, Q. Servilius, Ser. Sulpicius, and L. Æmilius, the two Papirii being sent against the Veliterni, defeated them, though joined by great numbers from Præneste, and obliged them to take shelter within the walls of their city. However, the generals did not think it adviseable either to attempt a doubtful siege, or to carry hostilities so far as to exterminate a Roman colony. The senate also judged it more necessary to pursue the war with vigour against the Prænestini, who had farther provoked the Romans, by assisting their irreconcilable enemies the Volsci *.

*Camillus
chosen mi-
litary tri-
bune.*

The importance of these expeditions induced the assembled centuries to raise Camillus a sixth time to the military tribuneship. He was indeed very unwilling to embark again in public affairs, being now very infirm, and apprehensive of the vicissitudes of fortune. He therefore endeavoured to decline the honour which the people had conferred upon him, pleading his age and infirmities. But the people would not hearken to his representations. "We do not expect (said they) that Camillus should personally engage either on foot or on horseback; or that he should join the bravery of the private soldier to the wisdom of the general. All we now desire of him is, to assist our armies with his counsel, and command them; this is enough to make them invincible." Camillus could not avoid complying with their request: he accepted the military tribuneship, in which he had for his colleagues, A. Posthumius, L. Posthumius, L. Furius, L. Lucretius, and M. Fabius Ambustus. The command of the army, to be employed against the Volsci, was decreed to Camillus by the senate; but it fell by lot to L. Furius to be joined with him in the command †. The two generals commanded an army of four legions, consisting of four thousand men each, which marched to Sutrium, where the Volsci and Prænestini had formed a camp, and waited

* Idem ibid. cap. 21, 22.

† Liv. ibid. cap. 22.

without fear for the Romans, depending on their great superiority in number, and flushed with their late success against Satricum, which they had taken. Camillus, whether he waited to recover his health (for he was greatly indisposed), or to receive a reinforcement of troops, was not in haste to risk a battle. But, in the mean time, the Volsci appearing drawn up in battalia, and provoking the Romans, the latter could hardly be restrained from falling out of their camp, and falling upon the enemy. Their ardour for fighting was increased by the rash discourses of young Furius, who imputed the prudent delays of his colleague to old age, which, he said, had chilled his blood. At length the Volsci advanced into the open fields, and carried on their lines almost to the Roman camp. This was such an insult, as neither Furius nor his legions could bear. The young general, therefore, addressing himself to Camillus, observed, that he was the only person in the army for delaying the engagement; and urged him to comply with the desires of the soldiers. Camillus answered, with an air of superiority, but with great temper, that hitherto Rome had not been dissatisfied either with his conduct or success; but, nevertheless, if the impetuosity, which hurried the soldiers on to an engagement, could not be restrained, he wished them success; but desired to be excused, on account of his age, from engaging in the foremost ranks.

The Romans engage, against the advice of Camillus.

Furius drew up his troops in order of battle; but Camillus made it his business to prepare a corps de reserve to assist his colleague in case of distress: this last charged with great vigour, and the Volsci, feigning to give way, drew the Roman legions half-way up the hill, on which their camp was situated; then falling out with fresh troops, by the advantage of the ground, they obliged the Romans to retire in great disorder. The Volsci pursued them close to the very gates of their camp, which those brave legions, a little before so desirous of fighting, strove by a shameful flight to regain. Camillus, though greatly indisposed, no sooner heard, that the Romans were defeated, than he quitted his tent; and hastening to the gate of the camp with his body of reserve, cried out to the flying legions, "Is this then, Romans, the victory you were so sure of? What god or man can you blame but yourselves? You are come to seek for shelter in that camp, which you were so desirous to abandon; but you shall not enter it till you have repulsed the enemy." Having uttered these words, he put himself at the head

Are put to flight by the Volsci.

of

*The Volsci
defeated in
a second
engagement
by Camil-
lus.*

of the troops, which he had kept with him in the camp; and, encouraging the legions that had fled, to return with him to the engagement, he obliged the enemy to retire.

Next day he drew up his troops in the plain, and challenged the enemy to a second engagement. Furius, whom Camillus had placed at the head of the cavalry, behaved in the battle, which ensued, with uncommon valour: for the infantry being hard pressed, he prevailed upon his cavalry to dismount, and came so opportunely to the relief of the foot, that the numerous army of the Volsci was entirely routed, their camp taken, and their chief commanders were either slain, or made prisoners. Among the captives were found some Tusculans, who, as their city was in alliance with Rome, were separated from the rest, and brought before the generals. Upon examination, they declared, that they had taken arms with the consent, and by the order, of their magistrates. This declaration alarmed Camillus, who thought it necessary to go in person to Rome with the prisoners, and lay the matter before the senate. During his absence, he left the army under the command of Furius, who was now grown prudent by the ill success of his late attempt. However, it was generally believed, both in the camp and in the city, that the general's chief business at Rome was to accuse his colleague, whose rash conduct had like to have destroyed the army. The senate therefore was surprised to hear him speak of nothing but the revolt of the Tusculans. He was charged to punish their defection in an exemplary manner, and allowed to choose any one of his five colleagues, to command with him in this new expedition. They all made interest to attend him, in order to learn the art of war under so great a general. But the generous Camillus, to the great surprize both of the senate and army, preferred Furius to all the rest, being more desirous to conceal the shame of one, who had personally affronted him, than to pursue the dictates of revenge; an instance of moderation, which gained him no less esteem and veneration than all his victories! The two generals began their march; and either the artifice of those faithless allies, or their true repentance, gave the wise Camillus a fresh opportunity of signaling his moderation: for, when he entered their territories, he saw the husbandmen at work in the fields, as in times of the profoundest peace; the magistrates of the city sent him

*Camillus
charged to
punish the
defection of
the Tuscu-
lans.*

*A remark-
able proof
of modera-
tion in Ca-
millus.*

provisions, and came out to meet him. When he entered the city, he found the citizens, with their wives and children, walking about the streets, without betraying the least fear or surprize. The schools and shops were open, the markets full, and not the least sign of war could be distinguished. The general, pleased to find the Tusculans returned to their duty, assembled the chief men of their republic; and, having told them, that they had found out the true secret of disarming the resentment of the Romans, advised to send a deputation to Rome, and apply to the senate, who were the proper judges, whether their present conduct was a sufficient atonement for their past defection. Deputies were accordingly dispatched; who, being habited in mourning, with the dictator at their head, addressed the conscript fathers in a suppliant manner. The senate readily forgave them, and soon after even granted them the privileges of Roman citizens (E). Thus ended the sixth military tribuneship of the incomparable Camillus².

The senate forgives the Tusculans.

The military tribunes chosen to succeed him and his colleagues were L. Valerius, P. Valerius, L. Menenius, C. Sergius, Sp. Papirius, and Ser. Cornelius, whose administration was disturbed by domestic seditions, and a foreign war. Sp. Posthumius, one of the censors, dying, the other laid down his office, as the law directed, and the Romans proceeded to a new election. But, as the patricians were afraid of a census, which must of course have dis-

Domestic disturbances, and a foreign war.

² Plut. in Camillo. Liv. lib. vi. cap. 25, 26.

(E) The municipal towns, and Roman colonies, enjoyed the right of citizenship, which had sometimes more, sometimes fewer privileges annexed to it. The municipal cities enjoyed this privilege by a particular grant from the senate and people, without being obliged to change their own form of government. But there was this difference between them, that some of them could, others could not, either give their votes, or stand candidates for offices. This account of the municipia, and the difference between them,

is agreeable to Livy, who tells us, that the inhabitants of *Cære* were made *municipes* with the right of suffrage; and elsewhere speaking of *Fundi* and *Formiæ*, says, that these two cities did not obtain the right of suffrage without much application, though they had already the right of citizenship. As for the Roman colonies, they enjoyed more or fewer privileges and exemptions peculiar to Roman citizens, in proportion to their fidelity, and the services they rendered the republic.

Yr. of Fl.
1978.
Ante Chr.
370.
U. C. 378.

*Titus
Quinctius
dictator.
Defeats the
Prænestines, and
takes Præ-
nestæ.*

covered their riches, and excessive usury, they pretended, that there was some defect in the election; and thence took occasion to declare, that it was against the will of the gods that Rome should have any censors that year. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people used their utmost endeavours to bring on a new election of censors as soon as possible. This struggle occasioned great disturbances; during which the Prænestines entered the Roman territory, and advanced to the very gates of the city. However, the tribunes would suffer no levies to be made, till the senate had recourse to the usual expedient, in great extremities. Titus Quinctius was in all haste nominated dictator; and he appointed A. Sempronius to be his general of horse. The Prænestines no sooner understood, that Rome had created a dictator, than they removed farther off, and troops were raised in the city without opposition. The enemy, hoping that the banks of the Allia would always prove unlucky to the Romans, encamped on the spot where they had been defeated by the Gauls. But their hopes proved vain; for the dictator pursued them, and gave them a total overthrow. They fled to Prænestæ; but the dictator coming up with them before they reached that place, defeated them in a second engagement, took all their strong-places in a few days, and then appeared before Prænestæ itself, which capitulated. Quinctius, having thus reduced the enemy, returned to Rome, and brought with him from Prænestæ the statue of Jupiter Imperator; which, as an eternal monument of his glory, was placed in the Capitol between Jupiter Capitolinus and Minerva. The dictator entered Rome in triumph, and then laid down his office, which had lasted but twenty-five days^a.

*Three mili-
tary tri-
bunes cho-
sen out of
the people.*

The complaints of the insolvent debtors, which still continued, occasioned this year an alteration in the government. Whether the assembled centuries divided the military tribuneship between the patricians and plebeians of their own accord, or by constraint, is uncertain; but we are told by all the ancients, that three military tribunes were chosen out of the nobility, and three out of the people. The patricians were, P. Manlius, C. Manlius, and L. Julius; the plebeians, C. Sextilius, M. Albinus, and L. Antistius. The two Manlii, without drawing lots, were appointed to command the army against the Volsci; but Rome had soon occasion to repent

^a Liv. lib. vi. cap. 28, 29.

of the choice she had made; for having divided their army, and encamped near each other, they sent out their cavalry to forage, without being well acquainted with the country. The enemy did not think proper to intercept the foragers; but found means, by a stratagem, to draw the whole Roman army into an ambuscade. They sent to the Roman camps a Latin foldier, disguised like a Roman, to acquaint the generals, that their foragers were surrounded by the enemy, and must be inevitably cut off, if not relieved without delay. This was a general alarm: the two commanders, without so much as thinking of detaining the messenger who brought this false intelligence, marched out of their camps with precipitation, and in disorder, hurrying their troops into narrow passes, where the Volsci lay in wait for them. The Romans, though in disorder, fought with incredible bravery, and were, by their desperate courage alone, preserved from total destruction. But while they were wholly intent on defending themselves against one body of the enemy's forces, the other took and plundered the two Roman camps without resistance. The ill conduct of the Manlii made the senate deliberate, whether a dictator should be nominated; but the enemy attempting nothing farther, it was resolved to recall the army, and its commanders. During these misfortunes abroad, a profound peace reigned at home, which, no doubt, was owing to the share the plebeians had in the government ^b.

The Roman camps taken and plundered by the Volsci.

For the ensuing year the centuries chose only patricians; viz. Sp. Furius, Q. Servilius, C. Licinius, P. Clælius, M. Horatius, and L. Geganius. The people, therefore, renewed their ancient complaints; and, in order to free themselves from the oppressions of the rich, got, at length, two censors chosen, Servilius Priscus and Clælius Siculus, who took an exact account of the people and their effects; and concluded the census with a lustrum, which the Fasti Capitolini call the nineteenth from its institution. Nothing now remained for the censors to do, but to put an end to the disputes between the patricians and plebeians, by relieving the poor debtors, who were oppressed by the excessive usury of their avaricious creditors. In the mean time, news being brought that the Volsci had entered the Roman territory, and were committing ravages there, the censors suspended this work, under pretence, that it was of more consequence to the state to

Two censors chosen.

^b Liv. *ibid.* cap. 30.

The country of the Volsci laid waste.

guard against hostilities abroad than dissensions at home. But the tribunes of the people pursued their point, and, playing their usual game, opposed the levies; so that the senate were obliged to issue a decree, that no person should be disturbed for debt, or even the payment of the usual taxes, during the campaign. The levies were then made without opposition, and two armies raised, which marching by different ways into the country of the Volsci, laid it waste, and returned to Rome with an immense booty, the enemy not daring to appear in the field. The patricians no sooner found themselves free from the danger of a foreign war, than they cited their debtors to appear before the judges as usual; the tribunes of the people not being able to lend them any assistance so long as peace continued abroad^c.

The Latins and Volsci defeated.

In the course of the following year the centuries chose six patrician military tribunes, namely, L. Æmilius, S. Sulpicius, P. Valerius, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Veturius, and C. Quinctius. During their administration, the Latins and Volsci, engaging in a new confederacy against the republic, took the field, and encamped near Satricum. The patricians had, in all likelihood, at this time, the ascendant over the plebeians, for three armies were raised without the least opposition; one to guard the walls, another ready to march on the first notice, and the third, which was the most numerous, to attack the enemy in the neighbourhood of Satricum, under the command of P. Valerius and L. Æmilius. These two generals found the Latins and Volsci advantageously posted; but nevertheless gave them battle; and the action lasted till it was interrupted by so violent a rain that neither party could keep the field. It was renewed next day, and, at first, with pretty equal success on both sides: the Latins, who had been long in alliance with the Romans, having learnt of them the art of war. At length the Latin battalions were broken, and put into disorder, by the Roman cavalry, and a general rout of the confederate army ensued. The fugitives retired in great disorder first to Satricum, about two miles from the field of battle, and from thence to Antium, with a design to secure themselves in that city. But the Antiates, not thinking their city in a condition to hold out a long siege, were for surrendering to the Romans upon honourable terms.

^c Liv. *ibid.* cap. 31,

The rest of the Volsci, being also weary of the war, expressed an inclination to peace. But the Latins, obstinately bent upon pursuing the war, separated from them in a great rage, which they vented upon Satricum, though belonging to the Volsci, and the very place which had served them for a retreat after their overthrow. They reduced the town to ashes, sparing only a temple of the goddess Matuta, whom the Greeks, as Plutarch informs us, worshipped under the name of Leucothea, or Ino, the daughter of Cadmus. From Satricum they marched into the country of the Tusculans, surprised their city, and put all the inhabitants they met with to the sword, for having renounced the Latin confederacy, and accepted the privileges of Roman citizens. Great numbers of the Tusculans retired, with their wives and children, into the citadel, and from thence sent messengers to acquaint the Romans with their misfortune. An army, which had been kept ready against any unforeseen accident, was immediately sent to their relief, under the command of L. Quinctius and Ser. Sulpicius, two of the military tribunes, who took the place by assault, and put all the Latins within the walls of Tusculum to the sword. The tribunes, having thus recovered the city, led back their army to Rome^a.

*Satricum
destroyed
by the La-
tins;*

*who sur-
prise Tus-
culum;*

*which is
recovered
by the
Romans.*

The peace concluded with the Antiates, and the defeat of the Latins, gave the republic an interval of rest from foreign wars. But at home the avarice of the patricians increased the misery of the poorer sort of people. As all the debtors were pressed to pay their debts at the same time, one friend could not assist the other; so that most of them becoming insolvent, were delivered up to their creditors; and reduced to slavery; which melancholy scene so depressed the spirits, not only of the meaner plebeians, but even of the most considerable of that order, that, far from standing in competition with the nobles for the military tribuneship, they even neglected to sue for the plebeian magistracies; insomuch that the patricians seemed to have engrossed for ever the whole administration of public affairs. But at this very crisis a trifling accident afforded the plebeians an opportunity of shaking off the yoke they groaned under, and carrying their pretensions higher than ever. Fabius Ambustus, an illustrious patrician, but very popular, had two daughters; of whom the elder was married to Ser. Sulpicius, a

*The lower
sort of peo-
ple oppress-
ed by the
rich.*

^a Liv. lib. vi. cap. 32, 33.

*The vanity
of a wo-
man sets
Three pa-
tricians at
work to
raise the
fortune of
the plebei-
ans.*

patrician, and at this time military tribune; the younger was matched to Licinius Stolo, a rich plebeian. It happened, that while the younger sister was paying a visit to the elder, Sulpicius came home from the forum, where he had been discharging the duties of his office, attended by a croud of clients and by the lictors; who, thundering at the door with the staff of the fasces, gave notice that the magistrate was coming. This noise, to which the wife of Licinius was not accustomed, put her into a fright, which her sister taking notice of, could not forbear laughing at her, seeming much to wonder at her ignorance. This laughter, how innocent soever, was construed, by the younger sister, into an insult upon her, on account of the ignoble family into which she was married. This imaginary affront greatly provoked her; and her uneasiness was increased by the croud of people that came to pay their court to her sister, and receive her commands. Her father, perceiving by her countenance that something troubled her, kindly asked, what it was, and whether all was well at home. At first he could get no satisfactory answer; but at length prevailed upon her, with soft words, to disclose the secret: "You have married me (said she) into a family which is excluded from enjoying the chief honours of the republic. What a vast difference is there between my sister's condition and mine?" Her father, who was very fond of her, did all that lay in his power to comfort her: "Do not be uneasy, (said he), you shall soon see as much state at your own house, as you were surprised to find at your sister's."

*Licinius
and Sextius
attempt to
put the pa-
tricians and
plebeians
upon an
equality.*

From this time he entered into an association with Licinius, his son-in-law, and L. Sextius, a young plebeian of extraordinary parts, who wanted nothing but a noble birth to qualify him for the highest offices of the republic. Their design was to abolish the military tribuneship, restore the consulship, procure for the plebeians a share in that supreme dignity, and, in short, to put the patricians and plebeians upon an equal footing. To compass this design, it was thought expedient, that Licinius and Sextius should begin, by obtaining the plebeian tribuneship for the next year, which would enable them to pave themselves a way to the highest dignities. The two candidates were accordingly admitted; and having carried that first point, they bent all their thoughts and power to destroy the grandeur of the patricians, and promote the interest of the people. The first step they took was to propose a law for suppressing the military tribuneship, restoring

restoring the consulate, and requiring that of the two consuls to be annually chosen, one should always be a plebeian. In order to engage the people to pass this law, they added two others to it, relating to the debts, and the conquered lands. The first imported, that the interest already paid should be reckoned as a discharge of so much of the principal; and the remainder of it be paid at different equal payments. The second restrained any Roman citizen from possessing more than five hundred acres of land: whatever lands any one held beyond that restriction, were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer citizens.

The patricians, alarmed and terrified at these projects, frequently met; in order to deliberate on the most proper means to avert the impending evil; but could fix upon no other, except that of dividing the tribunes of the people, and engaging one part of the college to oppose the attempts of the other. Accordingly, they gained over the other eight: Licinius and Sextius assembled the tribes several times, in order to get their law passed, but were always opposed by their colleagues; who, as soon as the law began to be read, never failed to cry out, "We protest against it." These protests of one part of the tribunes against the others, were often repeated at different comitia; insomuch that the two popular tribunes could not even bring their laws to the hearing of the people. Being therefore at length tired with such frequent disturbances and interruptions, they resolved to protest in their turns. "Very well (said Sextius to his colleagues), since you are so delighted with hearing the word *Veto*, *I forbid*, or *protest*, we shall soon find occasion to repeat it too, and to the advantage of the people." Accordingly, when the centuries assembled to elect military tribunes for the next year, Sextius and Licinius cried out in their turns, "We protest against it;" an interposition which put a stop to all proceedings. As these two were continued in the plebeian tribuneship, they renewed the same opposition for five years successively; so that the republic fell into a kind of anarchy, none but plebeian officers being elected, that is, tribunes and ædiles. Thus the patricians were entirely excluded from the government; and this intermission of superior magistrates placed Licinius and Sextius, who were the popular tribunes, in some degree at the head of the republic. So that Fabius's promise to his daughter may be said to have been performed from this time.

They are opposed by the other tribunes.

The republic falls into a kind of anarchy.

The Veliterni defeated.

Licinius and Sextius were just elected tribunes of the people a sixth time, when the inhabitants of Velitræ declared war against Rome, over-ran the lands of the republic, and even laid siege to the city of Tusculum. As the Tusculans had long been allies, and lately admitted citizens of Rome, Sextius and Licinius, ashamed to refuse them assistance, waved their opposition, and suffered an assembly to be held by an interrex for electing military tribunes. Six patricians were chosen; L. Furius, P. Valerius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpitius, C. Valerius, and Ser. Cornelius. These, having made the necessary levies, marched against the enemy, defeated them, raised the siege of Tusculum, and invested Velitræ. But as the generals, who began the siege, could not make themselves masters of the place before the year expired, six new military tribunes were created, without the least opposition, to pursue the war with the Veliterni, till their city was reduced. It happened very unfortunately for the patricians, that Fabius Ambustus, the father-in-law of Licinius Stolo, was chosen military tribune. His five colleagues were, Q. Servilius, M. Cornelius, C. Veturius, Q. Quinctius, and A. Cornelius. The promotion of Fabius encouraged the tribunes to pursue their point with more vigour than ever. They found means to gain over three of their colleagues; so that of the ten tribunes five were now for the publication of the laws, and five against it.

New disturbances.

New laws required by the tribunes.

Licinius and Sextius were now the eighth year in office. Being by long habit thoroughly practised in the art of managing the people, they held frequent assemblies, and, in the presence of the multitude, asked the patricians the following questions; Whether they did not think it unreasonable, that they should possess each above five hundred acres of land, whilst a great number of the plebeians had scarce ground enough whereon to build themselves a small habitation to live in, or a sepulchre for their family. "How can you, patricians, said they, even in point of interest, account for your making your miserable debtors languish in chains, and absolutely putting it out of their power to pay you, by keeping them in prison? And yet what is more common than to see these wretched citizens delivered up into the hands of their creditors by your courts of justice? Are not the houses of the patricians become so many prisons?" When they perceived, that these enquiries made a great impression on the minds of the people, they immediately added, "And what remedy can

be provided against these misfortunes? Since our tribunes are not able to protect us, we must introduce some of the plebeians into the highest offices. Nor will it be sufficient, that plebeians are qualified by law to be consuls. Was not the number of military tribunes increased on purpose that the plebeians might have a share in that magistracy? and yet how few have been raised to it: and how much easier will it be for the patricians, when there are but two places to be filled, to secure themselves? It is therefore necessary, that a law be passed, laying Rome under a necessity of choosing one of her supreme governors out of the people. From that very day, and not till then, may the Roman people be deemed to have banished kings from Rome, and established liberty on a lasting basis." When the tribunes found, that the people listened to these discourses with great pleasure, they added a fourth law to the three already mentioned, importing, that decemviri should be elected instead of duumviri, to preserve and interpret the Sibylline books, and that five of them should be always plebeians. However, all proceedings on this, as well as on the other regulations, were suspended till the reduction of Velitræ, that the soldiers employed in that siege, who made so great a part of the people, might not be excluded from giving their votes, when such important innovations were on the carpet^f.

The year expiring before the return of the army, the republic chose six new military tribunes; L. Quinctius, Sp. Servilius, Serv. Cornelius, L. Papirius, Serv. Sulpitius, and L. Veturius. Licinius and Sextius were still continued in their employment, the people being eager to have these two opposers of the patrician party carry on and complete their designs. The Roman army was no sooner returned from the siege of Velitræ, than Licinius and Sextius summoned the people once more, declaring, that they would proceed to the publication of the law, without any regard to the opposition of their colleagues. The patricians, seeing their case desperate, had recourse to the last refuge, which was, to nominate a dictator. The man who seemed most proper to sit at the helm of affairs in so tempestuous a season, was Camillus; and, accordingly, the fathers with unanimous consent raised him to that dignity the fourth time. Camillus was not very forward to accept the charge, being unwilling to quarrel with those very men whose valour he had so often

Yr. of Fl.
1990.
Ante Chr.
358.
U. C. 390.
Camillus
dictator.

^f Liv. cap. 36, 37.

employed

He prevents the passing of the laws proposed by the tribunes.

employed in war. As affairs were then situated, he could expect nothing, but either to disoblige the commons, if he succeeded; or to contribute to the ruin of his party, if he did not. However, that zealous patriot did not refuse to assist his country, when it so much wanted his authority. From the day he was nominated dictator, the power of the tribunes of the people ought to have been suspended. But Licinius and Sextius, without paying any regard to the dictator, continued still to assemble the people, who being met in the forum on the day appointed, the four laws were recited. The tribes had already begun to give their suffrages in order, and the first had actually voted in favour of the laws, when the dictator, full of indignation, and attended by a great body of patricians, repaired to the assembly, and there seated himself in his tribunal. As the tribunes were divided among themselves, some declaring for the laws, and others protesting against them, the dictator, rising up, declared, that he was come to support the privileges of the people; and that he would never suffer one part of the tribunes to deprive the other of their right of opposition. The two heads of the tribunes laughed at this artful speech; and, pursuing their measures with great steadiness, continued to take the suffrages of the people. Camillus was so provoked by their presumption, that he ordered his lictors to drive away the tribes from their respective places, threatening, at the same time, that if they did not disperse immediately, he would assemble them in the Campus Martius, enrol them for service, and order them to march into the field without delay. On the other hand, the tribunes, to encourage the people, had the boldness to threaten the dictator, that, as soon as his dictatorship was expired, they would get him condemned in a fine of fifty thousand drachmæ, if he prevented the people from giving their suffrages. However, the tribes, terrified at the menaces of a magistrate who had the power of life and death, retired, and the comitia were postponed to another day. But Camillus, seeing the people too much enraged to be brought to any terms, either by authority or persuasion, withdrew to his own house, and soon after laid down his office.

Lays down his office.

P. Manlius dictator.

The senate, after a short interregnum, named P. Manlius to succeed Camillus. Manlius soon appeared to be a great favourer of the people; for the first step he took was

to name a plebeian C. Licinius, not Licinius the son-in-law of Fabius, for his general of the horse. Sextius and Licinius no longer doubted but they should be able to bring their designs to a happy conclusion under the administration of a dictator who favoured them, and the protection of his general of horse, provided they could find means to be continued in the tribuneship. For this purpose they pretended, that they would no longer serve, representing to the people, that they were grown old in the tribuneship to no purpose; and that, after struggling nine years with the senate for the good of the people, the only recompence they had met with was neglect and ingratitude. "Shall our laws, said they, wholly tend to your benefit, and we receive no manner of advantage from them ourselves? Is it consistent with modesty for you to ask great advantages by our means, while you resolve to leave us without honour, or even the hopes of honour? To be plain then, the laws we have proposed are inseparable. If you are resolved to pass them conjointly, then continue us in the tribuneship. We shall in that case make use of the authority you shall invest us with, to finish the work we have begun. But if you are determined to pass those laws which concern usury, and the conquered lands, without any regard to our interest, we will accept of the tribuneship no longer; and be assured, that you shall not obtain your desires." The people were very earnest to pass the laws concerning the debts and conquered lands; but as to the other two laws, relating to the re-establishment of the consulate, on condition that one of the consuls should always be a plebeian, and the changing of the duumviri into decemviri, the people did not give themselves much concern about them, being well apprised, that the endeavours of the tribunes, to open a way for the plebeians to arrive at the consulate, were chiefly intended for their own private interest. The tribunes therefore would not by any means suffer the laws to be proposed separately. Appius Claudius, grandson to the famous decemvir, made a long speech, full of invectives, against the two tribunes, expatiating on their insolence in declaring that the people should not be allowed to pass such laws as they approved, unless they would at the same time pass others which they did not approve. But, notwithstanding his harangue, the two tribunes were chosen for the tenth time, the multitude being afraid of losing such able and zealous defenders.

Names a plebeian for his general of horse.

The people grow cold with respect to some of the laws proposed by the tribunes.

They obtained the passing of one law.

Yr. of Fl.

2001.

Ante Chr.

347.

U. C. 401.

Camillus dictator for the fifth time.

Not long after their re-election, they obtained the passing of that law which related to the care of the Sibylline books. This advantage contented the people for the present; and six military tribunes, all patricians, were created for the next year without the least disturbance; namely, A. Cornelius, L. Veturius, M. Cornelius, P. Valerius, M. Geganius, and P. Manlius^b. In the beginning of their administration, the tribunes used their utmost efforts to get the other laws passed, and the debates were carried to such a height on both sides, that the citizens were upon the point of taking up arms against each other, when news were brought to Rome, that a numerous army of Gauls was in full march from the coasts of the Adriatic, with a design to revenge the defeat of their countrymen. The approach of so dreadful an enemy suspended the divisions of the commonwealth. The common danger united both patricians and plebeians, and prompted them to name a dictator. The great Camillus was raised to this dignity the fifth time. He was indeed turned of fourscore, and had very lately laid down the dictatorship before the usual time: nevertheless, his zeal for the welfare of his country induced him to sacrifice the remaining part of his life to the public good. He did not now plead infirmity to decline the charge, but readily undertook it; and having made the necessary levies, marched out of Rome with all the vivacity of a young man, after he had named T. Quinctius to be his general of the horse. As soon as he approached the camp of the Gauls, which was on the banks of the Anio, he posted the smallest part of his army upon a hill of easy ascent, and concealed the rest in the valleys behind rocks.

The poor appearance of the Roman troops made the Gauls so confident, that they pillaged the country quite up to his very trenches. Camillus, in order to increase their confidence, suffered them to proceed in the same insults for several days together, keeping himself quiet within his camp, which was well fortified on all sides. At length, perceiving that a great part of the enemy were scattered in the country to pillage, and being informed, that those who remained in the camp did nothing night and day but drink and revel, he ordered his light-armed men to advance by night into the plain, and to prevent the enemy from drawing up in order of battle when they should

^b Liv. lib. vi. cap. 39, 40.

first sally out of their camp. Early in the morning he marched down the hill with his main body, and drew them up in battalia. The Gauls hastened out of their trenches; but the light-armed Romans, falling upon them before they could range themselves in their usual order, obliged them to begin the fight in confusion. In the mean time Camillus charged them with his heavy-armed legions, and made such a slaughter in the foremost ranks, that the rest fled, and dispersed over the champain country, the Romans being possessed of the hills. Those who escaped the pursuit of the conquerors fled into Apulia. Some writers are of opinion, that from this time the Gauls began to spread themselves into Illyricum, Pannonia, Thrace, Greece, and Asia Minor. After this action, the dictator led his victorious army against Velitræ, the siege of which city had been interrupted. But the Veliterni submitted to him without making the least resistance: he returned therefore to Rome, where the honours of a triumph were decreed him both by the senate and people¹.

*Defeats the
Gauls on
the banks
of the Anio.*

But the republic was in too great a fervent for the senate to consent to his abdicating the dictatorship. The patricians thought, that, under the shelter of his great name, and absolute authority, they should be better able to contend with their adversaries; for the people, proud of their late victory, were more obstinately bent than ever on passing the laws so long disputed. Sextius and Licinius, seeing themselves backed and supported by the multitude, grew more audacious than ever, and took a more extraordinary step to effect their purpose. As the dictator was one day sitting on his tribunal in the forum, an officer, sent by those tribunes, commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his hand upon him at the same time, as if he designed to seize him, and carry him away by force. At this insult, such a noise and tumult arose in the forum, as never had been heard before, the patricians, who attended Camillus, driving back the officer, and the multitude at the foot of the tribunal crying out, "Pull him down, pull him down." The design of the tribunes was, by this violence to frighten Camillus into an abdication; but he, though at a loss what step to take in such an emergency, would not lay down the authority which had been legally conferred upon him. In the midst of this uproar, he took refuge in the senate-house, whither the patricians followed him; and there the demands of

*The tribunes send
an officer to
seize Camillus,
though dictator.*

¹ Plut. in Camillo. Liv. lib. vi. cap. 41.

the people and their tribunes were taken into consideration. On this occasion Camillus made a vow to build a temple to Concord, in case he succeeded in quieting these commotions. As the populace could not be prevailed upon by any means to abate of their pretensions, it was resolved, after many long and warm debates, to comply with their request, and to accept the three laws in question, as the only means to extinguish their obstinate fury. Thus the government was changed, the consulate revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever^k.

Yr. of Fl.

1996.

Ante Chr.

352.

U. C. 396.

*The first
plebeian
consul.*

The people having thus carried their point, the comitia were held for the election of consuls, when L. Æmilius Mamercinus, and L. Sextius, the plebeian tribune, were raised to that dignity. However, when the election of Sextius came to be confirmed by the senate, the conscript fathers absolutely refused to give their assent. The new disputes between the two parties on this occasion were carried to so great a length, that the people were ready to leave Rome, and separate themselves from the patricians. All the wisdom of a dictator universally esteemed was therefore necessary to bring about an accommodation; and Camillus found out an expedient to which both parties agreed. The consuls, and military tribunes, who had long supplied their places, were generals of the Roman armies, and at the same time judges of civil affairs; but, as they could not always attend to the latter branch of their office, being commonly during the summer in the field, Camillus's expedient was, to separate this function from the consulate, and to create a judge, with the title of Prætor, to whom it should be appropriated. He advised the senate to suffer one consul to be chosen annually out of the plebeians, on condition that the prætors should be always patricians. This motion was agreed to by both parties, the election of Sextius was confirmed, and all feuds and dissensions in the republic were laid aside^l (F).

The

^k Plut. *ibid.* Liv. lib. vi. cap. 47.

^l Liv. lib. vii. cap. 1.

(F) The prætorship was then looked upon as the second dignity in the republic, the prætor being elected in the comitia by centuries, and under the same auspices as the consuls; so that they were in a manner colleagues. The consul had

the management of political and military affairs. The prætor was the chief magistrate concerned in the administration of justice. At first one prætor only was appointed. Afterwards, that is, about the year of Rome 501, another was added;

Tranquillity being thus re-established, the senate, in gratitude to the gods, ordered the Great Games to be celebrated. These shews formerly lasted only three days, but now a fourth was added to them; and on that account their name was changed from *Ludi Magni*, or Great Games, into that of *Ludi Maximi*, or the Greatest Games. The present *ædiles* refusing, for what reason we know not, to make the necessary preparations for the Great Games, though that was a branch of their office, the young patricians cried out, "That, since the affair in question was to take care of the worship of the gods, they should think it no dishonour to be chosen *ædiles*." The dictator accepted the offer, and proposed to the people the establishment of two patrician *ædileships*, to which they agreed. These patrician *ædiles*, from the ivory chair *cah sella curulis*, had the name of *ædiles curules*, and were of greater account, being *curule* magistrates, than the plebeian *ædiles*. Their business was to take care of the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of justice, and the city walls, and also to see that no novelty was introduced into religion. In after-ages they examined the fables, or pieces written for the stage, and seem to have been the judges of other writings. To them the generals of armies, upon their return, delivered the corn and provisions taken from the enemy, as they surrendered the prisoners to the prætor and the money to the quæstor. Nothing now remained but to mark out a place for the temple of Concord, which Camillus had vowed. It was built, at the expence of the

The Great Games.

The curule ædiles.

The temple of Concord.

added: and then one of them applied himself to the administration of justice among the citizens, with the name of Prætor Urbanus, while the other decided the differences which arose among foreigners, with the title of Prætor Peregrinus. Upon the taking of Sicily and Sardinia, two more prætors were created to assist the consuls in the government, and as many more upon the entire conquest of Spain. Sylla encreased their number to eight; Julius Cæsar, first to ten, afterwards to sixteen; and

the second triumvirate to sixty-four; but in the declension of the empire, they were reduced to three. When the number of the prætors was thus increased, the prætor urbanus undertook the cognizance of private causes, and the others that of crimes; whence they were also styled *Quæstores*. Besides these, there were also provincial prætors, whose business it was to administer justice to the Roman provinces, and command the troops there in time of war, till their office, which was annual, expired.

public,

public, upon an eminence at the foot of the Capitol; so that it was seen from the forum, and the places where the assemblies were held, and justice was administered. Thus ended a year so glorious for Camillus. He had overcome the most formidable enemies of Rome, restored peace to the republic, and calmed the people without exasperating the nobility. Full of glory, therefore, and of years, he laid down the dictatorship, wholly bent on spending the small remainder of his days in the repose and tranquillity of a private life.

New concessions to the people.

The ensuing year continued quiet both at home and abroad, except that the tribunes of the people complained, that for one plebeian consul granted to the people, the patricians had gained three curule magistrates. Their complaints, backed with the murmurs of the people, made an impression on the senate; and the patricians consented, that the curule ædiles should be chosen out of the plebeians every second year. Afterwards they left the people at full liberty to choose them every year out of either body. These establishments being once made, Rome enjoyed a profound peace under the administration of the new consuls, L. Genucius, a plebeian, and Servilius Ahala, a patrician. This year a dreadful plague broke out, and swept away great numbers; amongst the rest, one censor, three tribunes of the people, and one curule ædile; but the most fatal stroke was the death of Camillus, who was much regretted by all ranks of people. He was deservedly styled a second Romulus, the first having founded, and he restored, the city^m. He is said never to have fought a battle without gaining a victory, never to have besieged a city without taking it, and never to have led an army into the field, which he did not bring back loaded with glory and booty. He was a zealous patriot, and, though persecuted by his ungrateful country, would never execute any scheme of resentment against her. The necessities of the public no sooner obliged the people to have recourse to him, than, forgetting the affronts he had received, he took upon him the conduct of the most difficult undertakings. He was a patrician by descent, but not actuated by party zeal, his love for the public being the only rule of his conduct. He favoured the plebeians when the interest of the public rendered it necessary, without flattery or self-interest. He had nothing so much in view as to end the dissensions which

Death of Camillus.

His character.

weakened the republic ; so that he left his country in the enjoyment of perfect tranquility, by means of the equality he had introduced, and the balance he had settled between all orders of men. In short, Rome furnished the world with many noble patterns of probity, but none more perfect than that of the incomparable Camillus.

As the plague still continued to rage, the Romans had recourse to an old superstition, called *lectisternium* (G). *The lectisternium.* But as that did not remove the plague, the superstitious Romans endeavoured to appease the anger of the gods by instituting new sports, which were called *Scenici*, from their being represented on a scene, that is, a stage built in the shade ^a (H). *The scenic shows.*

The

^a Liv. *ibid.*

(G) This was a religious entertainment made for the gods in their own temples, where tables were spread, and beds placed round them, on which the gods, according to the Roman fashion, were to lie and eat. The beds were placed near the altars, and strewed with leaves and odoriferous herbs, as well as the temples; whence this ceremony had the name of *lectisternium*, that is, a strewing of a bed. The statues of Jupiter and the other gods were laid upon these beds, as if they had been to partake of the feast. The goddesses were placed on chairs, after the manner of the Roman women, this being thought the more decent posture for their sex.

(H) The performers were brought out of *Hetruria*, in the language of which country *histr* signified a player; whence came the Latin word *histrion*. These *histriones*, or actors, danced to the flute, and kept time with their motions and gestures; but their dances, in these early times, were not ac-

panied by any verses or discourses. These were soon succeeded by satires written in verse, and set to the flute; which satires were repeated with suitable gestures. Some years after, *Livius Andronicus* turned the satires into regular plays; and then the farces, which made people laugh, were despised. However, the Roman youth revived these farces, and acted them at the end of their serious pieces. When the professed actors had finished their parts, some young Romans came upon the stage masked, and began to repeat merry verses as formerly, but such as were free from obscenity. These pieces were first brought from *Atella*, a city of *Campania*, and called *exodia*, that is, verses not belonging to the play. *Cornelius Nepos* says, that in *Greece* it was no dishonour to a man to appear upon the stage in the habit of an actor; whereas among the Romans it was infamous, and held unworthy of an honest man. The professed actors could not be incorporated in any

The scenic plays, which were introduced at this time, were performed in a part of the circus, near the banks of the Tiber, which happening to overflow, the people concluded, that the new remedy was not efficacious to appease the wrath of heaven. They, therefore, revived an old religious ceremony, which was said to have proved effectual in the like calamity. This was the driving of a nail, by a dictator, into that part of the wall of Jupiter Capitolinus's temple, which divided it from the chapel of Minerva under the same roof (I). A dictator was accordingly named for performing this ceremony; and the person raised to that dignity was T. Manlius, who, from his haughty spirit, was surnamed Imperiosus. He chose L. Pinarius Natta for his general of the horse, and, with great pomp and solemnity, drove the nail into the wall of the temple. The proud dictator, unwilling to have the whole business of his office confined to one religious

*Manlius
Imperiosus
dictator.*

any tribe, and consequently had no right of suffrage. None, who acted on the stage, were capable of serving in the legions, or bearing any civil or military employment. A senator, if he acted but once on the stage, was immediately degraded; and a knight forfeited all his privileges. An actress was infamous, and subject to the same laws as common prostitutes. These punishments were decreed and inflicted by an edict of the prætor: "Ait prætor, (says Ulpian), qui in scenam prodierit, infamis est (1)." But the actors of the Attellanæ were not comprised under this law, the Roman nobility confining the acting of these performances to themselves. If any actor in these pieces did not perform his part well, the people did not oblige him to unmask, which they had a right to do with respect to the professed actors.

(I) This odd ceremony was borrowed from the Volturnenses in Etruria, who reckoned their years by nails, which they drove into a temple of the goddess Nortia, or Fortune. When Brutus and Horatius Pulvillus were consuls, immediately after the expulsion of the Tarquins, the Romans built the famous temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; and resolved to mark down in it, and thereby transmit to posterity, the number of years which had passed since the foundation of Rome; but as they were then unacquainted with the numeral letters, they drove as many nails into the wall of the temple, as there had passed years since their city was founded. Every year afterwards, on the ides of September, the chief prætor, or consul for the time being, drove a nail into this wall, which shewed the year of his consulship.

(1) Ulpian, lib. ii. part v. ff. De iis qui infamia notantur.

ceremony, ordered troops to be raised, and even forced the citizens, though worn out with long sickness, to enlist themselves, under pretence that the Hernici were preparing to shake off the Roman yoke; but, as he had been nominated dictator to perform a religious ceremony, and not to command an army, the tribunes of the people repelled force with force, and at length obliged him to lay down his office: he had no sooner resigned, than he was cited by M. Pomponius, one of the tribunes, to answer for the violence and cruelty he had exercised over the citizens; for he had imprisoned some, and caused others to be barbarously scourged. He was also accused of treating inhumanly one of his own sons, by name Titus, whom he had confined to the country, obliging him to work among his slaves, because he was of slow parts, and had an impediment in his speech. This instance shews, that the absolute power which fathers, by the laws of Rome, had over their children, was kept within bounds by the superior authority of the magistrates. Manlius had, according to custom, a copy of his accusation given him, and the usual time of twenty-seven days allowed him to prepare for his defence.

Obliged by the people to resign. Cited before the people.

All were highly exasperated against so severe a dictator, and so barbarous a father, except the son himself, who, moved with filial piety, and under the greatest concern that he should furnish matter of accusation against his father, resolved upon a most extraordinary method to acquit him of the charge. Early in the morning he left the country-house, to which he had been banished by his unnatural father, came to the city, and stopped nowhere till he reached the house of Pomponius, who was yet in bed. Titus was immediately admitted by the tribune, who did not doubt but he was come to discover to him some new instances of his father's severity. After they had saluted each other, Titus desired a private conference; and every body was ordered to withdraw. Then the young man drawing out a poinard, and holding it close to the tribune's throat, threatened to stab him that moment, if he did not swear to desist from the prosecution he was carrying on against his father. Pomponius readily swore whatever the other was pleased to dictate; and actually dropped the prosecution. The people were not displeased at the bold enterprize of a son in favour of a father, by whom he had been used in the cruellest manner. They all extolled his piety; and not only for his sake pardoned the father, but the same year raised him to one

A remarkable instance of filial piety!

the most important posts in the Roman army, that of legionary tribune^o.

*The earth
opens in the
forum.*

This year the Hernici revolted ; but while the Romans were preparing to reduce them, an unforeseen accident threw the city into the utmost consternation. The earth opened all on a sudden in the midst of the forum ; probably by the violence of an earthquake. The citizens, having laboured in vain to fill up the chasm by throwing great quantities of earth into it, had at last recourse to the augurs, who declared, that they would never be able to compass their design, till that thing, in which the strength and power of the Roman people consisted, was thrown into the place ; and that such a victim would secure the eternal duration of the Roman state. While they were consulting about the meaning of this oracle, M. Curtius, a brave young patrician, having first asked, Whether Rome had any thing more valuable than arms and valour, armed himself completely ; then mounting a horse richly caparisoned, he came to the forum, and, in the sight of the people, who were assembled in crowds, devoted himself to death for his country, and rode full speed into the gulf ; an action, which some historians would willingly magnify with a miracle ; for they tell us, that the ground immediately closed ; but the most judicious writers own, that the opening was afterwards filled up with earth and rubbish^p. After M. Curtius had thus devoted himself, the Romans did not doubt but they should soon humble the Hernici : but they were disappointed ; for

*Curtius
leaps into
the gulf.*

*The Ro-
mans de-
feated, and
the consul
killed.*

Genucius, the first plebeian consul who had ever been entrusted with the command of an army, fell into an ambuscade, and was killed, after the legions had abandoned him. Some historians seem to doubt, whether he did not fall by the hand of a Roman ; at least it is certain, the melancholy news of his defeat did not so much grieve the patricians, as raise their pride. They exclaimed, in all places, that the misfortunes of Rome were owing to the violation of human and divine rights in the consecration of a plebeian consul. To wipe off the disgrace which Rome had received, it was resolved to create a dictator. Servilius, the surviving consul, named to that high office Appius Claudius, the most inveterate enemy of the plebeian party, that he might repair the losses which the republic had sustained by a plebeian consul.

^o Liv. lib. vii. cap. 4, & 5. Cic. Offic. lib. iii. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 4. ^p Liv. lib. vii. cap. 6. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 6. Orof. lib. iii. cap. 5. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. v. cap. 13.

While the dictator was employed in raising a second army, the Hernici, elated with their late success, advanced with great boldness to besiege the vanquished in their camp; but C. Sulpitius, who had been lieutenant to Genucius, and had, after the defeat and death of his general, collected his scattered troops, rallying out upon them, obliged them to return to their own entrenchments. Appius soon after arrived with a new army, which he had just raised in the city; and, having exhorted his men to imitate the bravery of Sulpicius, and the soldiers under his command, prepared for a general engagement. The Hernici, hearing that a dictator was created to carry on the war against him, exhausted their country of men to reinforce their army; none, who were able to bear arms, being excused from taking the field. Out of this multitude they chose three thousand two hundred men, whom they divided into eight cohorts, of four hundred men each. This was the flower of the enemy's troops; and their generals, to distinguish them from the rest, and engage them to exert themselves in battle, not only allowed them double pay, but exempted them from all the laborious offices of the army. The dictator no sooner began to draw up his men, than the Hernici followed his example, in a plain which lay between the two camps. This was the field of battle; and never were forces more equal, or the victory more doubtful. The Roman knights engaged the eight cohorts; but, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the enemy maintained their ground without flinching. The bad success of this onset made the Roman cavalry change their way of fighting. They dismounted, and, with permission of their general, posted themselves in the first line, at the head of the infantry. The eight cohorts still fought with incredible bravery, the rest of the soldiers in both armies being idle spectators of a battle fought by the flower of the two nations. The victory was a long time doubtful, many falling on both sides; but at length the better fortune of the Romans prevailed; the cohorts first retreated in good order; and then, being warmly pressed, gave way, and fled in confusion. The conquerors pursued the enemy to their camp; but night prevented them from attempting to force it. Next morning the Romans found it abandoned, the Hernici having retired under the walls of their cities. This victory cost the Romans dear; for they are said to have lost a fourth part of their army, and a great number of knights. The dictator returned to the city; but did not

Yr. of Fl.
2002.
Ante Chr.
346.
U. C. 402.

*Appius
Claudius
dictator.*

The Hernici defeated by the dictator.

obtain a triumph, the people being, in all likelihood, unwilling to bestow that honour on the most declared enemy of the plebeian party.

*Ferentium
taken from
the Hernici.*

*T. Quinctius Pennus
dictator.*

*Manlius's
combat
with a
Gaul.*

Notwithstanding the misfortune of Genucius, the centuries chose another plebeian consul, C. Licinius Stolo, a second time; and with him C. Sulpicius, surnamed Peticus. As the most violent enemy of the plebeians had been nominated dictator the last year by the patricians, so the most enterprising adversary of the nobility was now raised to the highest office by the suffrages of the people. The two consuls entered the enemy's country together; but finding no enemy in the field, they besieged and took Ferentinum, formerly a city of the Volsci, which had been given up to the Hernici by the Romans. After the surrender of this place, they took the road to Rome; but when they came to Tybur, they were surprised to find the gates of that city shut against them. Upon enquiry, they found, that the Tyburtines were in secret intelligence with the Gauls, who were again in motion. The apprehension of a war with so formidable an enemy, determined them to create a dictator. T. Quinctius Pennus was the person nominated to that dignity, and he appointed Serv. Cornelius to be his general of the horse. Meanwhile the Gauls advanced to the banks of the Anio, within three miles of Rome. The Roman army, under the command of the dictator, advanced to meet them, and encamped on the opposite banks of the river. Both armies lay near a bridge, which neither offered to break down, lest it should seem to argue fear: so that this bridge became the scene of several combats between the champions of both parties. One day a Gaul of gigantic stature advancing upon the bridge, cried with a loud voice, "Let the bravest man in the Roman army enter the lists with me; the success of our combat shall determine which is the more valiant nation." His extraordinary appearance struck the Romans with so much terror, that, for a long time, not one in the whole army offered to accept the challenge. At length young Manlius, who had so remarkably signalized his piety to his father, touched with a just sense of the affront offered to the Roman name, quitted his post; and, flying to the dictator, asked leave to encounter the Gaul. "Though I were sure of victory (said he), I would not fight this proud Gaul, without your order; but, if you will give me leave, I will

make this huge beast know, that I am of the blood of that Manlius whose valour proved so fatal to the Gauls on the Capitol." The dictator readily complied with the request of the brave youth. "Go, Manlius, (said he), and humble the pride of this insulting enemy. Revenge the cause of the city where you first drew your breath, as successfully as you relieved him to whom you owe it." Upon this permission the Roman, having changed his round buckler, which he wore as a Roman knight, for a square shield, and armed himself with a short sword, fit both for cutting and stabbing, advanced against the Gaul, who strutted about in his armour, making an ostentatious shew of his strength. Both Romans and Gauls retired to their respective posts, leaving the bridge free for the two champions. The Gaul began the combat, by discharging a great blow with his long sword at Manlius, which made much noise, but did no execution. The Roman, dexterously slipping under his enemy's shield before he recovered his heavy sword, stabbed him in two places, so that he soon measured his length on the ground. The conqueror cut off his head; and snatching from his neck a golden collar, put it about his own in token of victory. From this circumstance he obtained the surname of Torquatus, which he transmitted to his posterity. The event of this combat so discouraged the Gauls, that they abandoned their camp in the night, and retired into Campania *.

He over-comes and kills him.

The Gauls thereupon retire.

C. Pætilius Libo, and M. Fabius Ambustus, being elected consuls for the ensuing year, the first was sent with an army, to punish the Tyburtines; and the other was ordered to march against the Hernici, who persisted in their revolt. The two consuls had no sooner left Rome, than the Gauls appeared again; and, venturing to advance into the neighbourhood of the city, blocked up the gate Collina. However, the senate did not think proper to recall either of the consuls. A dictator was created to make head against those dangerous enemies. The consuls pitched upon Servilius Ahala, who, having named T. Quinctius to be his general of horse, and armed all the youth in Rome, engaged the Gauls under the walls of the city. As the Romans fought in sight of their parents, wives, and children, who were on the ramparts, they behaved with extraordinary valour. The battle was very bloody, and the field covered with dead bodies; but

Servilius Ahala, dictator.

* Liv. lib. vii. cap. 9, 10, 11. Oros. lib. v. cap. 6.

*The Gauls
and Herni-
ci de-
feated.*

but at length the Gauls gave way, and fled towards Tybur, where the consul Pætilius fell upon them, with a design to prevent them from taking refuge in that city: but the Tyburtines sallying out, covered their retreat; so that they escaped, but not without great loss. On the other hand, Fabius fought the Hernici with success, and overcame them in a general action. Thus was the republic this year victorious on all sides. The honours of a triumph were chiefly due to the dictator; but he, either despising them from pride, or declining them out of modesty, on his return to Rome, highly commended the two consuls, both to the senate and people; and then, without mentioning his own exploits, abdicated the dictatorship. Pætilius solicited a triumph, and obtained it; but his colleague Fabius, who had conquered the Hernici, was content with an ovation^t.

*The Herni-
ci sub-
dued.*

Next year, Cn. Manlius Imperiosus and M. Popilius Lænas being consuls, the Tyburtines advanced in the dead of night to the gates of Rome, and alarmed the city, the people believing the Gauls were come again; but the return of light discovering only a small number of Tyburtines, the consuls marched out, at two different gates, and easily repulsed the bold aggressors. The consuls for the next year were C. Fabius Ambustus, and C. Plautius Proculus. The latter marched against the Hernici, and totally subdued them; but the former, being sent against the Tarquinienfes, who had entered the Roman territory in arms, was defeated. The Tarquinienfes took three hundred and seven Roman prisoners; and, to shew their contempt of the republic, first treated them in a barbarous manner, and then cut their throats. The disadvantage Fabius had suffered, was followed by an alarm from the Boii, who appeared in the plain of Præneste, and from thence advanced as far as Pedom, a city of Latium, between Tybur and Tusculum, not above ten miles from Rome; but the Latins, tired with seeing their country almost every year plundered by the Gauls, renewed very seasonably their alliance with Rome, and furnished her armies with the same quota of men they had formerly stipulated to grant. With this reinforcement, the republic was able to oppose all her enemies. As the consuls were both employed elsewhere, Sulpicius, surnamed Peticus, was created dictator, to conduct the war against the Gauls. The dictator named M. Valerius for general

*Sulpicius
Peticus,
dictator,
marches
against the
Gauls.*

of the horse; and having chosen the best legions in the consular armies, he took the field, and marched against the enemy. Both armies were very impatient to come to a battle; but the dictator restrained the impetuosity of his men, knowing that the Gauls must necessarily be soon distressed for want of provisions, since they had brought none with them, nor prepared any magazines. The soldiers began to complain of their general's conduct, and even threatened openly to attack the enemy without his leave, or to quit the camp, and march back to Rome: they came in crowds to the dictator's quarters, and demanded access to him, having named Sextius Tullius to be their speaker.

Sextius was an officer of distinguished courage, and had been seven years first captain of the first corps of the army. The dictator was therefore surprised to see a company of seditious men headed by an officer of his rank and reputation. Sextius, in the name of the army, reproached the dictator with the disadvantageous opinion he seemed to entertain of his troops, and pressed him to lead them against the enemy. His discourse was followed by the acclamations of the multitude, who demanded leave to arm, and march to battle. The dictator could not help complying with their request; and therefore promised to lead them out against the enemy the next day. Then taking Sextius aside, he asked what could have induced him to be at the head of a faction. The brave centurion replied, that it was not want of respect to his general, or the ignorance of the martial laws; but to divert the unruly multitude from choosing a leader, who might have done something injurious to the dignity of the dictator. He then exhorted Sulpicius to yield to the desires of those impetuous men, who were strongly inclined to seize the first opportunity of fighting without his leave. The dictator followed his advice: he ordered all the muleteers of the army to put upon their mules the furniture of war-horses, to mount them, and, marching up the hills in the night-time, conceal themselves in the woods, till they should receive farther orders.

As soon as it was day, Sulpicius led his troops out of their intrenchments, and marched against the Gauls, who did not expect to see the Romans appear so soon in the field. He formed his army in such a manner, that all the legionaries, who used to attack the enemy at the head

*Attacks
them.*

The dictator's gallant behaviour.

He gains a complete victory.

Law against canvassing for votes.

of their legions, with a sort of darts called pila, succeeded one another in files. When one company of them was within reach of the enemy, they discharged their darts, and instantly retired, leaving a space between them and the Gauls: then a second company took the place of the other. Thus four companies succeeded, discharging their darts, and falling back, without suffering the Gauls, who depended chiefly on their long swords, to come near them. This repeated discharge of darts, which put the enemy into confusion, was no sooner over, than the rest of the legions closed in with them sword in hand. The Gauls, however, sustained the attack with great bravery, and even obliged the right wing of the Romans to give ground. The dictator, who was there in person, flying to the foremost ranks, "Is this (said he) the effect of your promises? Will all your boldness in the camp end in a shameful flight in the field? Follow your general, if you are true Romans." Having thus spoken, the brave dictator advanced sword in hand at the head of his legions, who threw themselves upon the enemy's battalions, and fought like men in despair. There was, indeed, more of a savage fierceness than true courage in this attack; but it succeeded. The Gauls were put to flight, and the Romans pursued them; but the enemy rallied near their right wing, which kept its ground, though attacked with great vigour by the dictator, at the head of his victorious troops. Then Sulpicius sent orders to his muleteers to leave their ambuscade, appear in the plain, and march towards the camp of the Gauls, who no sooner saw them, than they quitted their ranks, and hastened in confusion to the defence of their intrenchments: but M. Valerius, general of the horse, who had posted himself near the enemy's camp, after the defeat of their left wing, intercepted their flight; so that they had no retreat but to the mountains and woods. Valerius pursued them close with his cavalry, and put most of them to the sword, the whole plain being for some miles covered with dead bodies. This victory left the republic no enemies in Latium. The Hernici were subdued, the Gauls vanquished, and the Latins quieted. Sulpicius, when he had been honoured with a triumph, which he well deserved, resigned the dictatorship, and the government returned into the hands of the consuls. During their administration, a law was passed, at the motion of Pætilius the tribune, against openly canvassing for votes; for the novi homines, or *upstarts*, more ambitious of offices than the patricians

patricians themselves, not only solicited the suffrages of the people in the forum, but even went to the country fairs, and other public meetings, to buy voices ^w.

Under the succeeding consuls, C. Martius Rutilus and Cn. Manlius Imperiosus, the interest of money, which hitherto had been arbitrary, was, at the motion of Duilius and Mænius, two tribunes of the people, settled at one per cent. The patricians, displeased with a law, which set bounds to their avarice, in order to revenge themselves on the plebeians, cited the famous Licinius Stolo to answer for a breach of one of the four laws, which he himself had so zealously promoted, forbidding any citizen to possess more than five hundred acres of land. Licinius actually possessed a thousand; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his son, or given up his authority over him, and made him the nominal possessor of one half of his possessions: but as this emancipation was made to evade the law, he was convicted of fraud before the prætor, and fined ten thousand asces of brass, that is, about thirty-two pounds sterling ^x. This same year the consul Martius defeated the Privernates, who had declared against Rome, and took their city. His colleague Manlius marched against the Falisci, a people of Hetruria; but gained no considerable advantage over them.

*Licinius
Stolo con-
victed and
fined.*

*Privernum taken
by the
Romans.*

Nothing was talked of at Rome, but his attempt upon the constitution. He had ventured to assemble the tribes near Sutrium, and made a law in his camp, whereby it was enacted, that, for the future, the twentieth part of the price of every slave should be paid into the public treasury. The law passed, by the favour of the senate, notwithstanding its irregularity; but the tribunes of the people thought this step might be of dangerous consequence to the public liberty: "The tribes (said they) when assembled in a camp, and by an armed consul, are not free to vote as they please: besides, the soldiers, who are sworn to obey their generals, will of course give their suffrages as their commanders direct them." To prevent, therefore, these inconveniences, the tribunes procured the promulgation of a law, forbidding any magistrate to assemble the comitia any where but at Rome, under pain of death. However, the law for paying the twentieth part of the price of every slave was not repealed. The two consuls for the following year, M. Fabius Ambustus

^w Liv. lib. vii. cap. 12, 13. Fast. Capit. ^x Liv. lib. vii. cap. 16. Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 6. Plin. lib. xviii. cap. 3.

*War with
the Falisci,
the Tar-
quinienſes,
and the
Tyburtines.*

and M. Popilius Lænas, were employed, the first against the Falisci and Tarquinienſes, and the latter against the Tyburtines. Popilius, not finding the enemy in the field, ravaged their country, and carried off a great booty; but Fabius, after having gained some advantage over the united forces of the Falisci and Tarquinienſes, was obliged to retire, all Hetruria taking up arms against him ¹.

Yr. of Fl.
2007.
Ante Chr.
341.
U. C. 407.

*C. Marcius
Rutilus
dictator.*

Upon his retreat, a numerous army of Hetrurians advanced as far as the salt-pits on the banks of the Tiber. Their approach obliged the Romans to have recourse to a dictator. The consul Popilius named him in the absence of his colleague, and, as he was a plebeian himself, pitched upon C. Marcius Rutilus, the plebeian consul for the last year. The dictator likewise chose a plebeian, C. Plautius Proculus, for his general of horse. The patricians, highly provoked at these promotions, did all that lay in their power to prevent the dictator from having such things decreed him as were necessary for the war. But the people hastened the preparations for the campaign; so that every thing being ready sooner than usual, the dictator took the field without delay, marched to the enemy's camp, surprised and forced it, nothing being able to withstand the Roman soldiery under the conduct of a plebeian dictator, the first who had ever been raised to that office. Historians do not mention how many Hetrurians perished in the battle; but leave us to guess by the number of prisoners; for we are told, that eight thousand were taken in this famous action. This victory deserved the honour of a triumph, which the patricians, jealous of the glory of a plebeian dictator, opposed to the utmost of their power: but the people did him justice; so that he entered Rome in triumph the day before the nones of May ².

*Triumphs
over the
Hetruri-
ans.*

*An inter-
regnum.*

The time drawing near for electing new consuls, and there being none but plebeian magistrates in Rome to preside in the comitia, the nobility raised difficulties against holding them. They pretended, that it was not lawful for any plebeian, though a dictator, to preside in them. The pontifical laws, said they, require, that the election of chief magistrates should be consecrated by auguries, which belong of right only to the patricians. They prevailed: the dictator, and the consul Popilius, were excluded on account of their birth. As it was necessary to have some magistrate of the first rank to preside at the

¹ Liv. lib. vii. cap. 17.
lib. iii. cap. 6. Eutrop. lib. ii.

² Liv. lib. vii. cap. 17. Oros.
Fast. Capit.

election,

election, the republic had recourse to an interregnum, during which it was governed by six patricians, Q. Servilius Ahala, M. Fabius, Cn. Manlius, C. Fabius, Sulpicius, and L. Æmilius. These governed by turns, and managed their affairs so well, that the plebeians, in the very year in which they triumphed most, were excluded from a share in the government; for C. Sulpicius Peticus, and M. Valerius Poplicola, both patricians, were raised to the consulate, though for the last eleven years one of the consuls had been a plebeian. The tribunes exclaimed against the election, as contrary to the laws; but Fabius, who presided in the comitia, silenced them, by quoting a law of the Twelve Tables, whereby it was enacted, "That only the last edict of the people should be of force, and render all preceding ones null." From thence he inferred, that the Roman people, by giving their votes to two patricians, had repealed the law, which divided the consulate between the patricians and plebeians ^a.

The consuls of this year took Empulum from the Tyburtines. When the time came for new elections, they declared, that they would not resign their dignity into any hands, but those from which they had received it. "We hold the consulate (said they), of the senate and patricians; and therefore think ourselves bound, both in honour and gratitude, not to resign it into any hands but theirs." This extraordinary proceeding occasioned such commotions in the Campus Martius, that the greater number of the people cried out, they ought not only to dissolve the assembly, but leave Rome, as their ancestors had done. Many actually retired, leaving only the least passionate behind them, who gave their suffrages for two patricians, M. Fabius Ambustus, and T. Quinctius Pennus, who took the field without delay against the Tiburtines and Tarquinienfes. The former were totally subdued by Fabius, and the latter defeated in a bloody battle by Quinctius, who, to revenge the cruelty they had formerly committed on three hundred and seven Roman soldiers, put all the prisoners to the sword, except three hundred and fifty-eight, whom he sent to Rome, where, by order of the senate, they were scourged, and then beheaded. These victories gained the Romans such reputation among the Italian nations, that the Samnites sent an embassy to Rome, to propose an alliance with the republic. The ambassadors were kindly received by the

The Tyburtines are totally subdued.

^a Liv. lib. vii. cap. 18.

The Samnites enter into an alliance with Rome.

feitate, and the alliance concluded, the Samnites engaging to furnish the republic with troops, when required, and the Romans promising to protect them against their enemies both at home and abroad ^b.

Manlius Torquatus dictator.

The patricians had gained such an ascendant over the people, that they kept the consulate in their own hands, and promoted to that dignity C. Sulpicius Peticus, and M. Valerius Poplicola. The former marched against the Tarquinienfes, and the latter against the Volsci, who were again in motion. The consuls had scarce taken the field, when Valerius was recalled to nominate a dictator, the senate being informed by Sulpicius, that the Cærites were disposed to take part with the Tarquinienfes, and that the Faliscæ had already joined them. Valerius named T. Manlius Torquatus to the dictatorship, though he had never been consul, a necessary step to that supreme dignity; but Valerius regarded nothing but the merit of Manlius in the choice; and his nomination was not opposed, though contrary to law. The new dictator, having named Cornelius Cossus to be general of horse, was preparing to march against the Cærites; but they, being sensible they could not withstand the brave Torquatus, sent deputies from all their towns to implore the clemency of the Romans. The senate referred the deputies to the people, who, being reminded that Cære had been the asylum of the Vestals, when Rome was taken by the Gauls, received them into favour, and granted a truce for a hundred years. Then the dictator led his army against the Faliscæ; and, finding no enemy in the field, laid waste their country, and returned to Rome, where all things continued quiet, till the time came for the new elections.

An interregnum.

The dictator, who was to preside in the comitia, had formed a design of excluding the plebeians; which the tribunes being aware of, opposed the assembling of the centuries, till the expiration of the dictatorship, which ended with the consuls year. Thus the republic fell into an interregnum; and those, who then governed, found both parties irreconcilable. The disputes rose to such a height, as threatened an open revolt; which so terrified the fathers, that they suffered at length the Licinian law to take place, and one of the consuls to be chosen, agreeably to that law, out of the plebeians. The persons elected were, P. Valerius Poplicola, a patrician, and C.

^b Liv. *ibid.* cap. 19.

Marcius Rutilus, a plebeian, who was now raised to this office a second time ^c.

The first care of the new consuls was to regulate the payment of debts, the only obstruction to a perfect union of the patricians and plebeians. They no longer considered the relief of debtors as a private affair, but as a general concern of the public; and therefore chose five men of known probity, and great experience, to take an account of all the debts of the plebeians. These five were called bankers, and had the command of the public treasury to enable them to discharge their commission; which they did to the satisfaction of both parties. Those who, out of sloth and idleness, had plunged themselves into debt, either borrowed money of these bankers, giving the treasury security for it, or deposited the value of their debts in effects, which were estimated by the bankers. By these means the greatest part of the debtors were relieved without injury to any person, and with little loss to the public.

The payment of debts regulated.

Tranquility being thus established at home, the city was suddenly alarmed with a report, that the twelve lucumones of Hetruiria had entered into an alliance against the republic, and were ready to invade her territories. Upon this information, Julius Iulus was named dictator, and he appointed L. Æmilius, surnamed Mamercinus, general of the horse; but the report proved groundless, and was in all likelihood artfully spread by the patricians, that they might have an opportunity of placing a man at the head of the republic, who was able to prevent the execution of the Licinian law. Indeed Julius used all his credit and authority to get two patricians chosen consuls; but he was so warmly opposed by the tribunes, that both he and the consuls went out of their office, before the comitia could be assembled for a new election. In the interregnum which ensued, C. Sulpicius Peticus and M. Fabius governed successively, and induced the people to comply with the patricians. Two patricians were chosen, Sulpicius himself, and T. Quinctius Cincinnatus. In their administration, the Tarquinienfes and Falisci, tired with the calamities of war, submitted to the republic, and obtained a truce for forty years. The peace the Romans enjoyed giving them a favourable opportunity to choose new censors, the day was fixed for the comitia to proceed to this new election.

Yr. of Fl.
2011.
Ante Chr.
337.
U. C. 411.

Julius Iulus dictator.

The Tarquinienfes submit.

*The censor-
ship opened
to the ple-
beians.*

None but the most illustrious patricians had ever enjoyed this dignity; but C. Martius Rutilus, thinking himself, though a plebeian, qualified for any post in the republic, after he had been twice consul, and once dictator, stood candidate for this office; and, in spite of all opposition of the nobles, was elected, with Cn. Manlius, a patrician. The commons, willing to give lustre to an office to which a plebeian had just been promoted, Ovinus, one of their tribunes, proposed a law, depriving the consuls of the prerogative of filling up the senate, and lodging this power in the censors. The law passed; and, what is very extraordinary, this important change was made in the republic without the least disturbance. The censorship being now open to the plebeians, the patricians, in order to secure the consulate to themselves, and prevent the Licinian law from being put in execution, prevailed upon the consuls to name a dictator to preside at the next election, imagining that he would be more respected in the comitia, and have a greater influence over the centuries, than the consuls. The person raised to this dignity was Fabius Ambustus, a man distinguished by his birth, his employments, and his personal merit. He had been thrice consul, and honoured with a triumph. He chose for general of the horse the famous Servilius Ahala, a man not inferior to himself; but notwithstanding these precautions, M. Popilius Lænas, a plebeian, who had been twice consul, was promoted to this dignity. His colleague, L. Cornelius Scipio, falling sick soon after his election, the plebeian consul, to the great mortification of the nobility, became sole general of the Roman troops^d.

*The Gauls
enter La-
tium a-
new.*

The Gauls having entered Latium, and laid waste the country, were advancing towards Rome. Popilius therefore ordered levies to be made; and so great a number of soldiers enlisted themselves on this occasion, that two armies were immediately raised, one to guard the city, under the command of M. Valerius Poplicola, who was then prætor, and the first in that employment who was seen at the head of an army. Popilius marched with the rest of the troops to stop the progress of the Gauls, who, upon his first appearance, offered him battle; but Popilius, who was well acquainted with their temper, and therefore willing to let their first heat abate, kept within his camp. The Gauls, thinking the Romans afraid, attacked them while they were raising their works; but were re-

^d Liv. *ibid.* cap. 22.

pulsed with great loss. They returned, however, the same day to the charge; and, in the beginning of the second attack, Popilius, exposing himself too much, was wounded with a javelin, and carried out of the field. This accident suspended the ardour of the Romans; but as soon as their general appeared again, their courage revived. They drove the Gauls into the plain, and there, drawing up in the form of a wedge, penetrated into the main body of the enemy, and obliged them to retire with precipitation. The general did not think proper to pursue the fugitives; but having taken and plundered their camp, led back to Rome his victorious army, enriched with the spoils of the conquered enemy. He was decreed a triumph at his return, which was deferred till he had recovered of his wound. As his colleague Scipio continued likewise indisposed, the senate desired the two consuls to name a dictator to preside at the approaching election. In compliance with this request, they named L. Furius Camillus, son of the great Camillus, to that dignity, who appointed P. Cornelius Scipio to be general of the horse. These two patricians used all their interest to make the election fall only on men of their order, and carried their point; for Camillus was chosen one of the consuls, and Appius Claudius, surnamed Crassus, another patrician, was appointed his colleague.

*Defeated
by Popilius.*

In the beginning of their consulate, the Gauls, who had fled for refuge to the hills of Alba, appeared again in great numbers on the sea-coast of Latium; and at the same time some Greeks, from what part Livy does not determine, made a descent on the coast, which the Gauls were plundering. The latter, jealous of their booty, opposed the Greeks at their landing, and obliged them to retire to their ships; however, they continued hovering about the coast, while the Gauls laid waste and plundered it from the mouth of the Tiber to Antium. The republic made the necessary preparations to oppose their enemies; but in the mean time Appius, one of the consuls, dying, the whole management of the war devolved upon Camillus, whose very name was looked upon as a good omen in a war with the Gauls. His first care was to raise a numerous army, consisting of ten legions, amounting to forty-five thousand men. Of these legions he gave four to L. Pinarius the prætor, ordering him to guard the sea-coast against the Greeks; two he left to defend the city,

*Latium
plundered
by the
Gauls.*

* Liv. lib. vii. cap. 23. Appian. Celtic.

and with the other four marched himself against the Gauls; but as he had no design to come to a pitched battle with them, he encamped in the Pomptin territory, a country full of marshes and rivers.

While both armies continued inactive, a fierce Gaul, remarkable for his stature, and the richness of his armour, challenged the bravest man in the Roman legions to single combat. M. Valerius, a legionary tribune, great grandson of the famous Valerius Volusus, accepted the challenge; and is said to have obtained the victory by means of a raven, which, perching upon his helmet, and flying in the face of the giant during the fight, so blinded him with his wings, that he was easily vanquished. The Gauls, despising the advantage Valerius had gained by the help of a bird, crowded round the body of their dead champion, to hinder the Roman from stripping him of his armour. The Romans at the same time hastened to the assistance of Valerius, and a battle ensuing, the Gauls were entirely defeated. Those who escaped fled through the country of the Volsci; and entering Campania, crossed the plains of Falernum, penetrated as far as Apulia, and retired to the coasts of the Adriatic Sea. As for the brave Valerius, the general rewarded him with a crown of gold, and two oxen, a considerable present at that time. He ever after bore the name of Corvus, which signifies a raven, and his posterity that of Corvinus; which distinguished this branch of the Valerian family from all the rest.

*The Gauls
defeated.*

Yr. of Fl.
2015.
Ante Chr.
333.
U. C. 415.

*Manlius
Torquatus
dictator.*

The consul, having thus freed Latium from the Gauls, joined his army to that of the prætor Pinarius, in order to drive away the Greek pirates, who infested the coast; but the obstinacy of those adventurers, who, though they durst not land, continued still at sea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he expected; so that the time for electing new consuls drawing near, he was obliged to nominate a dictator to preside in the comitia. The person he promoted to that dignity was the famous Manlius Torquatus, who chose Cornelius Cossus general of the horse. As the dictator was charmed with the exploit of Valerius, so much resembling his own, and had a great influence in the elections, he prevailed with the people to choose him one of the consuls, though he was but twenty-three years of age, and too young even to have a place in the senate.

† Liv. lib. vii. cap. 25; 26. Aul. Gel. lib. ix. cap. 11. Zonar. lib. vii. cap. 25.

His colleague was Popilius Lænas, who now entered upon this office the fourth time.

While the Romans enjoyed profound peace both at home and abroad, under the administration of these two consuls, ambassadors came from Carthage to Rome. The Carthaginians were the first nation the Romans were acquainted with out of Italy, and with whom they entered into an alliance. As early as the first year after the expulsion of the Tarquins, when Brutus and Valerius were consuls, these two nations had entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to navigation and commerce (K).

A treaty made with Carthage.

The treaty was now renewed, with some alteration. The present consuls were succeeded by C. Plautius Hypæus, and T. Manlius Torquatus, who had been twice dictator, but now for the first time consul. During their consulate the republic enjoyed a profound peace, which left them no room to acquire fresh glory by deeds of arms. They therefore endeavoured to promote the public welfare by wise regulations; they reduced the interest of money from one to half per cent. and allowed the debtors, by paying down one fourth of their debts, three years to discharge the remainder, by annual and equal payments. A new war with the Volsci broke out during the administration of the succeeding consuls, Valerius Corvus, now a second time consul, and C. Pætilius Libo. Valerius defeated the enemy, took from them Satricum, and burnt it, sparing only the temple of the goddess Matuta^s. He was honoured with a triumph, in which four thousand captives marched before his chariot. In this consulate the secular games, which had been instituted in the year of Rome 297, were celebrated for the second time. The next year's consuls, M. Fabius Dorso, and S. Sulpicius Camerinus, named L. Furius Camillus to be dictator a second time, on occasion of a war with a new enemy, the Aurunci, a petty nation near the confines of Latium, on the coast of the Tyrrhenian sea. Furius overthrew them in battle, and, at his return, built a temple, which he had vowed, during the action, to Juno Moneta (L). The

Satricum taken from the Volsci.

L. Furius overthrew the Aurunci.

year

^s Liv. *ibid.*

(K) This treaty was yet to be seen in Polybius's time, on the base of a column in the ancient Roman language, which, as that writer tells us, was so different from what was spoken in his time, that those who

were more conversant in the Latin tongue, could not, without much study and labour, understand it.

(L) This name had been given to the queen of the gods a little before the taking of

Rome

year following, the Romans imagining that the goddess, agreeable to her name, admonished them by prodigies of the impending wrath of the gods, C. Martius Rutilus, now consul a third time, and T. Manlius Imperiosus a second time, appointed P. Valerius to be dictator for the solemnization of the festival, called *Ferix Latinæ*.

*P. Valerius
dictator.*

The dictator having brought the republic to an interregnum, for some reason not mentioned by the historians, the centuries chose two patricians, namely, M. Valerius Corvus a third time, and Cornelius Cossus, surnamed Arvina. During their administration a rupture happened between the Romans and Samnites. A city, at that time scarce known to the Romans, sowed the seeds of discord, and changed the alliance between the two nations into implacable hatred. The Sidicini, a people of Ausonia, on the other side the Liris, being attacked by the Samnites, and not able to defend themselves, had recourse to the people of Campania, who took up arms in favour of their oppressed neighbours, it being their interest to stop the progress of so powerful an enemy. Upon this pretence the Samnites, having a prospect of greater advantages in the conquest of the Campanians than of the Sidicini, turned their arms against the former; and, as they were an effeminate people, defeated them in two pitched battles, and threatened to besiege the city of Capua, their metropolis. In this distress the magistrates had recourse to Rome, whither they sent an embassy to implore the assistance of the republic; but the senate returned to their humble address the following answer: "The senate of Rome think you worthy of their protection; but we must have regard to our ancient friendship with the Samnites. We cannot, therefore, take arms in your favour; but we will intreat the Samnites, our friends, to put an end to their hostilities." The Capuan deputies had hitherto spoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the Romans; but now, dissatisfied with the answer they had received, pursuant to the powers with which they had

Yr. of Fl.
2020.
Ante Chr.
328.
U. C. 420.

*Occasion of
the war
between
the Sam-
nites and
Romans.*

Rome by the Gauls. It was pretended, that from the temple of Juno had come a voice, accompanied by an earthquake, and that the voice had warned the Romans to avert the evils that threatened them, by sacrificing a sow with pig. Hence she was called *Moneta*, from

the verb *monere*, to warn. This temple was built on the Capitol, in the place where the house of the rebellious Manlius formerly stood, and afterwards became a public mint. Hence the medals, which were stamped for current coin in trade, were called *moneta*, or money.

been

been invested, made this farther declaration : " Since the Romans scruple to attack openly the Samnites, contrary to the faith of their treaties, let them, at least, not be afraid to defend their own property against the unjust usurpations of their enemies : the people of Campania, the city of Capua, our lands, our temples, every thing we have, divine and human, we absolutely give and surrender to you. From this time, therefore, all our losses will be yours ^b."

The Campanians, distressed by the Samnites, surrender themselves and their country to the republic.

This donation in due form, by ambassadors authorized to make it, was of great weight with the senate. They did not think their alliance with the Samnites obliged them to refuse it ; and therefore, without delay dispatched ambassadors to intreat the Samnites, as friends, to spare a province which belonged to Rome. In case the Samnites could not be prevailed upon by these gentle methods, the ambassadors were directed to give them notice, in the name of the people and senate of Rome, to quit the country immediately. But the Samnites, a proud and warlike people, were so far from being intimidated by the majesty of the Roman name, that their magistrates sent for the commanders of their troops, and ordered them, in the presence of the Roman ambassadors, to go instantly and ravage Campania. This insult filled the senate and people with indignation. All other business was laid aside, that they might apply themselves wholly to the preparations for a war, which was declared with all the ceremonies instituted by Numa on such occasions. Two armies being raised, it was the lot of Valerius to march with one into Campania, while Cornelius, with the other, carried the war into Samnium. The stress of the war lay at first on Valerius, who posted his troops on Mount Gaurus, in Campania, and continued in that advantageous situation, till his men, by frequent skirmishing with the Samnites, had learnt their way of managing arms. He assembled his troops ; and having encouraged them, in a long speech, not to be afraid of a new enemy, to remember their ancient valour, and to gain the honours of a triumph for one descended from the great Poplicola, marched out of his camp, and drew up his men in battalia. As the two armies were pretty equal in numbers, the victory was long disputed, without any considerable advantage on either side. The Roman cavalry attempted in vain to break the enemy's battalions. Valerius seeing their

War declared against the Samnites.

^b Liv. *ibid.* cap. 29—31.

The Samnites defeated by Valerius.

miscarriage, put himself at the head of the infantry, and, encouraging the legions to follow his example, threw himself into the midst of the Samnite cohorts, and, being followed by his legionaries, made a dreadful havoc. The dead lay in heaps round the enemy's standards; yet their cohorts kept their ground, resolved to defend themselves to the last. At length Valerius ordered the Roman cavalry to attack the enemy in flank; but they stood the shock till night put an end to the conflict. After the battle the Romans owned, that they had never engaged a more intrepid enemy; and would not have known that they had gained the victory, had not the Samnites deserted their camp in the night, and abandoned it to the conquerors¹.

Cornelius brings his army into great danger;

but is delivered by Decius Mus.

While Valerius thus signalized his valour in Campania, his colleague Cornelius, having imprudently left his camp, which was advantageously posted near Saticula, on the confines of Samnium, marched through a mountainous country into a forest, out of which there was but one passage, through a deep valley, which, as well as the wood, was lined with the enemy's forces; so that he found himself, when it was not in his power to alter his march, surrounded by the Samnites. This distress threw the consul into the utmost consternation; but it fortunately happened, that he had a brave officer among his troops, who extricated him from the danger. This was the famous P. Decius Mus, as yet only a legionary tribune, who afterwards so nobly signalized his love for his country. The prudent tribune, observing an eminence at a distance, which commanded the camp of the Samnites, and had been neglected by them, proposed to the consul, that he might be detached with a small body to take possession of it. The general approved of the design, and detached a small body of troops, under the command of Decius; who, taking his way through the wood, concealed his march so well, that the enemy did not discover him till he was near the post, which he was going to seize; and then the sight of the Romans climbing up the rock was such a surprize to them, that they could come to no determination; being in suspense, whether they should attack the consul, or Decius. In the mean time the Roman general, taking advantage of this irresolution, marched out of the valley without molestation. Decius did not doubt, but the enemy would attack him on his

¹ Liv. *ibid* cap. 32, 33.

hill, or shut up the avenues to it; but when he perceived, that they neither came to attack him, nor attempted to surround him, and cut off his retreat, he took a view of the avenues to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return silently to the main body, at the second watch of the night. When, at that hour, all his men were re-assembled, he laid before them the necessity of leaving the place where they were; and put it to the vote, whether they should stay for day-light, or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy, while they were asleep. The latter proposal being universally approved, Decius put himself at the head of his troops, and marched down the rock in great silence. They had got half-way through the enemy's camp, when a Roman foldier, striking his foot against the buckler of a Samnite, awaked a centinel, who gave the alarm in that quarter. The Samnites immediately ran to arms, not knowing whether it was Decius and his troop, the consul and his army, or some Samnite of the camp, who had disturbed their rest. In the midst of this universal confusion, Decius ordered his men to give a great shout; which doubled the consternation of the Samnites, while the Romans gained the plain, and made their escape, none of the Samnites daring to follow or attack them.

When Decius approached the consul's camp, as it was not yet day, he ordered his men to halt, telling them, that they deserved to enter the camp in a more glorious manner, than in silence and darkness. Next morning the whole army marched out to meet that brave troop, which had saved their lives at the peril of their own, and conducted them in triumph to the general's tent, who, having summoned all his foldiers to hear his harangue, was beginning to make the panegyric of Decius; but the brave tribune, rather choosing to give his general good advice, than to hear his own praises, advised him to march away immediately, and surprise the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had sent out detachments in quest of him. This advice was followed; the Romans surprised the Samnites rambling about the fields, and pursued them to their camp, which the consul took and plundered, after having cut in pieces above thirty thousand of the enemy.

When Decius returned to the camp, the consul resumed his panegyric; but as words were not a sufficient acknowledgement of his merit, he honoured him with all the military rewards that were ever given to a subaltern.

*A complete
history
of the
Samnites.*

*Decius re-
warded
with many
honours.*

Besides a crown of gold, he had a present of a hundred oxen, and a white bull with gilt horns. As for the soldiers of his detachment, the consul assigned them a double quantity of corn during life, and gave each of them two sags, or military habits. The legions likewise signaled their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an obsidional crown, which it was customary among the Romans to bestow on a general, who relieved them when besieged. This crown was made of the grass growing in the place, and called corona obsidionalis. And now the detachment, which Decius had brought safe out of the danger into which he had led them, thinking themselves obliged to bestow some mark of distinction on their leader, crowned him with a crown of oak-leaves, which was called the civic crown, and thought the most honourable of all military rewards. Thus, loaded with three crowns at once, he offered up the white bull in sacrifice to Mars, by way of thanksgiving, and distributed the hundred oxen among the companions of his danger, and sharers of his glory. The rest of the legions made, likewise, a present to the company who had followed Decius, consisting of some pounds of meal, and measures of wine ^k.

The campaign did not end with this victory. The Samnites, who had been routed by Valerius, having raised new forces, appeared before Sueffula, a town situated between Nola and Capua. Valerius hastened to the relief of the Sueffulani; and, in order to deceive the enemy, encamped within as narrow a compass as he could, hoping they would attack him in his entrenchments; but the Samnites, judging that the Romans must soon want provisions, kept quiet in their camp. Thus both armies continued some time inactive; but at length the Samnites, being distressed for want of provisions, Valerius attacked their camp, while the greater part of their forces were dispersed about the country in quest of necessaries, forced it, and made a great slaughter, while his cavalry chased the several detachments which were foraging. We are told, that the Roman soldiers brought to their general above forty thousand of the enemy's bucklers; the Samnites having thrown them away, that they might not incumber them in their flight. One hundred and twenty standards were likewise taken from the enemy in this action. Both consuls returned to Rome, where they were

The Samnites defeated again by Valerius.

^k Liv. lib. vii. cap. 35, 36. Aug. Gel. lib. v. cap. 6.

honoured with a triumph. The successes of this glorious campaign gave a new lustre to the republic, both among the neighbouring and distant nations. The Falisci changed the truce, which they had made with the Romans, into a treaty of alliance. The Latins, who had taken up arms, with design to employ them against the republic, if she had been worsted in this war, turned their hostilities against the Peligni, a Samnite nation, as it were to assist the Romans, whom they really had intended to betray. And lastly, the Carthaginians sent to compliment the republic on her success, and made a present of a crown of gold, of twenty pounds weight, to Jupiter Capitolinus, by way of thanksgiving for her victories. This year ended with a census, by which it appeared that the number of Romans, able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand. The ceremony closed with a lustrum, which was the twenty-second since its first institution by king Servius.

The following year C. Martius Rutilus was elected the fourth time to the consulate, and with him Q. Servilius Ahala. The latter encamped in the neighbourhood of Rome, while the former marched into Campania, where he found a general depravation of manners in some cohorts of Roman soldiers, who had been left in Capua all winter. He even discovered, that they had entered into a plot among themselves, to drive the natives out of Campania, and to seize that delicious country for themselves. To disappoint this scheme, he contrived to send away the most mutinous, without treating them disgracefully, or letting his design appear. At length the soldiers, suspecting he was aware of their plot, and being alarmed with the apprehension of punishment, one whole cohort deserted; and, posting themselves advantageously near Anxur, in a narrow pass, between the sea on one side, and high mountains on the other, were soon joined by great numbers of malcontents from the city and the camp. As they were still at a loss for a leader, they surprised by night, in his bed, one T. Quinctius, an excellent commander, who had retired some time before from public life to his farm, and forced him to go with them, as their general, to Rome. Their approach so terrified the city, that a dictator was named, to assemble forces, and oppose these mutineers. The person appointed was Valerius Corvus, who came to a parly with them; and, being extremely beloved by the soldiery, prevailed with them to submit.

Some Roman soldiers enter into a plot to seize Campania.

Valerius Corvus marches against them.

However,

They submit.

However, the rebels, besides a general pardon, which was granted by the senate, and confirmed by the people in comitia, obtained many concessions, which certainly would not have been made, if the senate had not dreaded their number and discipline.

Privernum revolts.

The Romans, by these concessions to the rebels, lost credit among their neighbours. Privernum revolted, but was soon reduced by C. Plautius Hypsæus, now the second time consul. His colleague, L. Æmilius, laid waste the country of the Samnites, who were so weakened by the two late overthrows, that they durst not appear in the field; but sued for peace, and an alliance with Rome.

The Sidicini and Campanians join the Latins.

These being obtained, they turned their arms once more against the Sidicini, who, being refused succour, even upon the terms of being subject to the republic, gave themselves up to the Latins, already in arms to recover their independence. The Campanians, forgetting the benefits they had received from the Romans, and their engagements with the republic, followed the example of the Sidicini, and joined the Latins. An army, formed of these three united nations, entered Samnium, laying waste all before them; but not being able to bring the Samnites to a battle, soon retired for want of provisions. Their retreat gave the Samnites an opportunity of sending ambassadors to Rome, to complain of her suffering the Latins and Campanians, her allies and subjects, to commit hostilities in Samnium. The senate indeed did not approve of the hostilities the Latins had committed, but were ashamed to own, that they had no longer power over them. The consul Plautius, therefore, in the name of the senate, returned the following answer: "The Campanians are our subjects; and we will, therefore, oblige them to let you live in peace. But as for the Latins, our treaty of alliance with them does not restrict them from engaging in any war without our consent; and therefore we can promise nothing in relation to them."

This answer left the Samnites in a melancholy uncertainty, offended the Campanians, and, as it seemed to betray a sense of weakness in the Romans; raised the spirits of the Latins to such a degree, that they imagined they could not now demand any thing which the Romans would dare to refuse. They secretly combined with the Campanians to attack the Romans, though, in appearance, their preparations were only against the Samnites. But the senate, informed of their intentions, resolved to anticipate their designs, and, with this view, to bring on the

the election of new consuls before the usual time. Accordingly, they obliged the present consuls to abdicate; but some religious scruples being raised concerning the holding of the comitia by consuls deposed before the expiration of their year, the government was reduced to an interregnum; and two presidents, Valerius Corvus and M. Fabius, were named to govern in the mean time successively, each five days in his turn. While the latter was in office, the people were assembled in the Campus Martius; and it being of the utmost importance to choose two able men to sit at the helm, the centuries pitched upon the famous Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus, the former a patrician, and the latter a plebeian. The republic promised herself a continued series of prosperity under the administration of these two illustrious magistrates. Torquatus was a man of inflexible severity in supporting military discipline; Decius had a more humane temper; and both colleagues were equally famous for piety towards the gods, and a love for their country. In the beginning of their consulate, Alexander, king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, arrived in Italy, on the invitation of the Tarentines, to assist them against the Brutians. This prince hoped to have subdued all Italy as easily as his nephew had reduced Persia; but was not so successful in his scheme, having to contend with more warlike nations. He gained, indeed, some small advantages over the Lucanians and Brutians at his first coming; but soon found it necessary to court the friendship of the more powerful nations of Italy, particularly of the Romans, with whom he concluded an alliance¹.

Alexander, king of Epirus, comes into Italy;

and concludes an alliance with the Romans.

After this transaction, the two consuls made it their whole business to prevent the revolt of the Latins; and the first step they took for that purpose, was to summon ten of the Latin chiefs to appear at Rome, and give an account of their preparations for war. The Latin council sent one L. Annius, a man of great credit among them, with ten more, to Rome, to demand, as a condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that one of the consuls, and half of the senate, should be for the future chosen out of the Latins. This demand was rejected with indignation, and war immediately declared. The consuls, having formed two armies, consisting entirely of Romans, marched through the territories

Ten of the Latin chiefs summoned to Rome.

The consuls march against the Latins.

¹ Liv. lib. viii. cap. 2, 3. Justin. lib. xii. cap. 2.

of the Marsi, entered the country of the Peligni, and encamped in Campania at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, at a small distance from the enemy's camp. The night before the battle, which soon ensued, both consuls are said to have dreamt the same dream. A man of a gigantic stature, and majestic mien, appeared to them, and told them, that the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whose general should devote himself to the *Dii Manes*. When it was day, the two consuls communicated their dreams to each other. The aruspices made such discoveries in the entrails of the victims, as confirmed the dreams. It was therefore agreed in a council of war, that Manlius should command the right wing, and Decius the left, in the ensuing battle; and that he, whose troops first gave way, should devote himself to save his country, and rush into the midst of the enemy's battalions. In the same council of war, consisting of the two consuls, all the lieutenant-generals, and legionary tribunes, it was likewise determined, that the ancient discipline should be strictly observed in the present war, and that no officer or soldier should dare to fight the enemy without express orders, or out of his rank, upon pain of death. This regulation was made, because the enemy they were now to engage with spoke the same language, were armed after the same manner, observed the same way of fighting (M), and were personally ac-

(M) The order of battle, in which the Romans formed their army before an engagement, in Manlius's time, was as follows: they formed the whole body of their troops into three lines, distinguished by the names of *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*. The *hastati*, who composed the first line, were so styled from the javelins called *hastæ*, which they bore. The *principes*, who made the second line, were so called, according to Varro, because, in more ancient times, they were placed in the front of the battle, and began the attack. The *triarii* were so named, because they made the third line: they were commonly vete-

rans, and the main strength of the army. The *principes* were armed with swords, and the *triarii* with javelins called *pila*. In after-ages, the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii* seem to have borne much the same arms. At the time of this war with the Latins, there was a space of fifty feet between the first and second lines, and of one hundred feet between the second and the third: and as spaces were left between the lines, so likewise between the different *manipuli* or companies of each line, these companies being divided from each other by spaces thirty feet wide; so that in a line of ten *manipuli* there were nine of these

quainted with most of the Roman officers, under whom they had served in former wars ^m.

^m Liv. lib. viii. cap. 6.

these spaces. But these openings were not so disposed, as to yield a direct passage to the enemy, from the front of the army to the rear. The manipuli of the second line stood behind the openings of the first, and the manipuli of the third behind those of the second; so that the order of the whole resembled that of trees, called by gardeners quincunx. When the hastati happened to be overpowered, they retired in good order, still facing the enemy, towards the principes, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and, together with them, renewed the fight. If the hastati and principes, thus joined, were too weak to sustain the fury of the onset, they fell back into the wider intervals of the triarii, and then all together made another effort, much more vigorous than any before. If this assault proved ineffectual, the battle was entirely lost as to the foot, there being no farther reserves. The whole secret of the Roman art of war lay in disposing their armies after this manner, and leaving these spaces open in the first and second lines. It was almost impossible that this method should prove unsuccessful, if duly observed; for fortune, in each engagement, must have failed them three different times, before they could be routed. As for the Roman cavalry, they were always posted at the wings of the

army, and fought sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, as occasion required, like our dragoons. At this time they were not numerous among the Romans, there being but twelve hundred horse in an army of twenty thousand men. As to the stations of the commanders, the consuls and lieutenant-generals took their posts in the middle of the space between the principes and the triarii, where the Roman eagles stood. The legati and tribunes were usually posted near them, unless the former were ordered to command the wings, or the others some particular part of the army. The centurions stood every man at the head of his century or company. The common soldiers were placed in several ranks, at the discretion of the centurions, according to their age, strength, and experience, every man having three feet square allowed him to manage his arms in. The Latin troops being drawn up in the same manner as the Roman, it was probable, that the centurions of the two armies would encounter each other. But the Romans not being men of so much bodily strength as the Latins, Livy tells us, that the centurions of the Roman legions obtained leave of the consuls to have each of them a sub-centurion to defend and assist him (1). *

(1) Liv. lib. viii. cap. 8.

It

*The consul's
son being
challenged
by a Latin,
kills him.*

It happened, soon after these orders were proclaimed, that young Manlius, the consul's son, being sent at the head of a detachment of horse to observe the enemy's motions, met an advanced squadron of the enemy, commanded by Geminus Metius, who, knowing the consul's son, challenged him to a single combat. Manlius, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late orders of the generals, accepted the challenge; so that both parties drew back, and left the field open for the two champions. They rode full speed against each other, and Manlius's lance only glanced upon his adversary's helmet. Then the two combatants wheeling about, returned to the charge, when Manlius wounded Metius's horse on the head with his lance. The violence of the blow made the horse rear, and the suddenness of the shock threw Metius to the ground. He endeavoured to raise himself with his buckler and lance, but Manlius gave him so violent a thrust in the throat, that he drove the point of his lance out at his side; and, having stripped him of his fine armour, returned to the camp full of glory for his victory, but uncertain of the reception he should meet with from the consuls. He passed triumphantly through the midst of the army, and, going strait to his father's tent, accosted him thus: "Father, I have followed your example; I was challenged, like you, by an insulting enemy; and here I lay his spoils at your feet." The consul, at these words, turning his back upon his son, ordered the troops to be immediately assembled, and in their presence made him this reply: "Since you, Titus Manlius, have been so rash as to fight the enemy without my orders, you must expiate your crime. You have conquered, and therefore deserve to be rewarded. But your disobedience must be punished with the utmost severity. How could you despise the authority both of a father and a consul? How could you break through that discipline, to the strict observance of which Rome has hitherto owed her preservation? Hard is the necessity you reduce me to, when you force me either to forget that I am a father, or that I am a judge. But neither your grief nor mine shall prevail over the fidelity I owe my country. We shall be a melancholy example to posterity, but a wholesome precedent to the Roman youth. In you I lose a son endeared to me by the tender affection of a father, and by your late victory. But, alas! since I must either establish the consular authority by a rigorous act of justice, or weaken it by your impunity, die as bravely as you have conquered. If
you

*How re-
ceived by
his father.*

you have but one drop of the Manlian blood in your veins, you will not refuse to repair the breach you have made in the military discipline, by undergoing the punishment due to your offence." This said, he first crowned his son as victor, and then ordered the lictors to tie him to a stake.

All present were stunned with the sentence, as if it had been pronounced against themselves; and when the lictor lifted up his ax to strike off the young conqueror's head, an outcry was raised by the army, as if the stroke had been to fall upon each officer and soldier present. However, they offered no violence to the consul or the lictor; but, seeing the young man's head struck off, and his blood gush out, vented their rage against the general in imprecations and invectives. They covered the dead body with the spoils of his conquered enemy, and expressed their affliction by the most pompous obsequies they could perform for him in the field. It is scarce to be imagined how tractable this severity of Manlius made his army for the future: his orders were observed, and put in execution, with all possible exactness, which greatly contributed to the victory he gained a few days after^a.

Is put to death for fighting without leave of his general.

When the day of battle came, both armies drew up in the plains at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, in the road leading to the town of Veseris. As they were equal in numbers, and uniform in their way of fighting, the onset was furious on both sides, neither party, for some time, gaining any advantage over the other. At length the left wing of the Romans, commanded by Decius, being vigorously pressed by the Latins, gave ground, so that the first line was forced to retire, without turning their backs to the enemy, into the intervals of the second line. This disadvantage reminded Decius of the agreement with his colleague. He therefore called out to Valerius, the pontifex maximus, to perform the ceremony of consecration, that he might devote himself in due form. Valerius ordered him to quit his military habit, and put on the robe he wore in the senate. Then he covered his head with a veil, ordered him to put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and, standing with both feet upon his javelin, to repeat after him the following words: "O Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Romulus, Bellona, and ye Lares and Novenfiles (N)! All ye heroes who dwell in heaven,

Decius thus devotes himself.

^a Liv. lib. viii. cap. 7. Flor. lib. i. cap. 4. Zonar. lib. vi. cap. 16.

(N) This word Novenfiles are of opinion, that it signifies is variously interpreted: some the new-created gods, or those whose

and all ye gods who rule over us and our enemies, especially ye gods of hell! I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you to prosper the arms of the Romans, and to transfer all fear and terror from them to their enemies; and I do, for the safety of the Roman people, and their legions, devote myself, and, with myself, the army and auxiliaries of the enemy, to the infernal gods, and the goddesses of the earth." Decius, having finished this prayer, ordered his lictors to acquaint his colleague that he had devoted himself for the safety of the army. Then, tucking up his robe, and girding it round him, he mounted his horse, and rode full speed into the thickest of the enemy's battalions. Both the Romans and Latins were surprised at this sight. The consul broke through the first line of the enemy's army, and penetrated to the centre, the Latins being terrified, and, as it were, thunderstruck at this new spectacle. At length, recovering from their surprise, they discharged a shower of darts at the devoted consul, who fell to the ground with numberless wounds.

As slain.

The death of the consul gave new courage to the Romans. Those who had retired, returned to the charge with redoubled vigour. However, the Latins still kept their ground, and in some places had the advantage. When news were brought to Manlius of his colleague's death, he shed some tears, giving him the praises he deserved; then he ordered a body of volunteers to advance into the first line, reserving the triarii, or those of the third line, who constituted the main strength of the army, to the last extremity. The Latins, being hard pressed by these fresh troops, and taking them for the Roman triarii, ordered their own triarii to advance; and this mistake determined the victory, hitherto doubtful, in favour of the Romans. For the Latins being exhausted, and having for the most part broken or blunted their weapons in repulsing the Romans once more, when they thought themselves sure of the victory, the Roman triarii, by order of Manlius, appeared; and having raised a loud shout, which

whose worship had been lately introduced in Rome. Others pretend it signified the nine Muses. Varro, by the word *Novensiles*, understands the nine deities brought to Rome by the Sabines; namely, Lara, Vesta, Minerva, Feronia, Concord, Good Faith, Fortune, Chance, and Health. Some read *Novensides* instead of *Novensiles*, and understand thereby another kind of gods, who presided over novelties.

dismayed

dismayed the enemy, fell upon them, while fatigued, with such fury, that scarce a fourth part of their army remained alive. The Sămnites, for whose sake this battle was fought, had no share in it, but continued in battalia, at some distance from the Roman army, at the foot of Mount Vefuvius, and only served to keep the enemy a little in fear °.

*The Latin
army routed
with
great
slaughter.*

The Latins, who escaped the slaughter, fled to Minturnæ, a little above the mouth of the Liris. There Numicius, their general, by causing letters to be spread about in Latium, and the country of the Volsci, representing the flight of the Latins only as an honourable retreat, drew many to his camp, who had not been present at the late action. Having thus formed a new army, he took the road to Capua, being determined to try the fortune of arms once more with the Romans, and hoping to surprise them with his sudden return. But Manlius met him on his march, at a village called Trifana, in the neighbourhood of Sinuessa, gave him a second overthrow, and then entering Latium, laid it waste without opposition. All the Latin cities surrendered at discretion, as did Privernum, in the territory of the Volsci. All Campania, with Capua its capital, was brought into subjection to its former masters. The consul dispossessed the Campanians, Latins, and Privernates, of their lands, and distributed them among the people of Rome. However, the Laurentini in Latium, and the Campanian knights, who were the flower of the nobility of the country, and had not been concerned in the revolt, were continued in their possessions and privileges; nay, these faithful knights, to the number of sixteen hundred, were made citizens of Rome, but without right of suffrage: and, that this grant might be the more authentic, it was engraved on brass, and fixed up in the temple of Castor and Pollux°. An annual pension of forty-five denarii, that is, one pound nine shillings sterling, was also assigned to each, out of the public revenues of Campania. It is not to be doubted, that Manlius, after so many signal conquests, obtained the honours of a triumph, notwithstanding Livy's silence on this head.

*Are again
routed.*

*The Latins
and Cam-
panians
submit.*

He soon after fell sick; and, as a Roman general was wanted to oppose some fresh incursions of the Antiates, he nominated L. Papirius Crassus, then prætor, to the dictatorship; who, having appointed L. Papirius Cursor for

° Liv. lib. viii. cap. 9.

¶ Idem. ibid. cap. xi.

*The Latins
revolt.
Publius
gain an
advantage
over them.*

master of the horse, kept his troops some months in the enemy's country upon free quarter, and then returned to Rome, to preside at the election of new consuls, when Q. Publilius, a plebeian, and Tib. Æmilius, a patrician, were chosen. In their administration the Latins revolted, and formed two armies. Publilius, succeeding in an expedition against one them, was honoured with a triumph; but Æmilius, having only gained slight advantages over the other, was refused that honour; a repulse which so incensed him, that no tribune of the people ever inveighed more bitterly against the nobility than this patrician consul. The senate, to prevent disturbances, ordered him to name a dictator. Æmilius obeyed; but, in revenge, named his plebeian colleague, who appointed Brutus Scæva, another plebeian, to be general of the horse. The dictator, entirely devoted to the people, employed all his power and influence to establish their rights on a solid foundation. This aim he effected by three laws, which he either made or revived. The first imported, that the decrees made by the people, at the request of their tribunes, should bind all the subjects of the republic. The second, that, for the future, the laws which were to be passed by the centuries should be first approved by the senate, subject to the approbation of the people. Hitherto the comitia used to pass the laws first, and the senate had a power of accepting or rejecting them. The third law enacted, that one of the censors should always for the future be a plebeian¹. The senate, to pique Æmilius, who was very tender of his honour, ordered the next year's consuls, L. Furius Camillus, grandson to the great Camillus, and C. Mænius, a plebeian, to end the war which he had left unfinished. That the new consuls might not fail of success, the senate plentifully furnished them with men, ammunition, arms, and provision, by which means the united forces of the Latins were defeated, the town of Pedum was taken by assault, and all Latium brought under subjection. The consuls, having finished the war, returned to Rome, where they were honoured, not only with a triumph, but also with two equestrian statues erected in the forum².

*The Latins
defeated
by the new
consuls.*

Their fate.

The consuls, having some time to continue in their office, employed it in determining the fate of the conquered. Camillus was inclined to clemency, and advised the fathers rather to increase the subjects of the republic,

¹ Liv. lib. viii. cap. 12.
Fast. Capit.

² Idem ibid. cap. Eutrop. lib. ii.

by admitting the Latins to the privileges of Roman citizens, than to exterminate them, and reduce their country to a desert. The chief men in the senate adhered to the consul's advice. But, as some cities had been more criminal than others, it was thought proper to make a distinction in the treatment of them. Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum, and Pedum, were made Roman municipalities; their soldiers had the privilege of being incorporated in the legions, shared all the advantages of the Roman soldiery, and were no longer upon the footing of auxiliaries. The Tusculans were restored to the enjoyment of their privileges, the senate being unwilling to condemn a whole country for the faults of a few. Velitra was rased, and its senate and inhabitants were removed into another city beyond the Tiber. The Antiates were indulged with the freedom of Roman citizens; but their fleet, consisting of six galleys, was partly burnt, and partly carried into the Roman ports. With the brass beaks of their vessels, called in Latin *rostra*, the consul Mænius adorned the pulpit from whence the Roman magistrates harangued the people; and hence it was ever after called the *rostra*. The inhabitants of Tybur and Præneste were deprived of all their lands, not so much on account of their late revolt, as for having formerly assisted the Gauls. And, lastly, all the Latins were forbidden to assemble their diets, as usual, to marry out of their respective tribes, or to have common markets or fairs for trade. As for the cities of Campania, their lands were divided among the Romans. Thus were the two most fruitful provinces of Italy subdued by the republic, and the Latins, from allies of Rome, made her subjects^a.

In the following consulate of C. Sulpicius Longus and P. Ælius Pætus, Publilius, though a plebeian, obtained the prætorship, the only great dignity which the plebeians had not before shared with the nobility. Thus the people being arrived at the height of their desires, all pretences for faction were taken away. The consuls of the new year, L. Papinius and Cæso Duilius, led an army against the Sidicini and Ausones, who had invaded the country of the Aurunci at this time in alliance with Rome, defeated them in the field, and, having obliged them to take shelter behind the walls of their cities, returned to Rome. In the following consulate of M. Valerius Corvus, now raised to that dignity a fourth time, and M.

Yr. of Fl.
2025.
Ante Chr.
323.
U. C. 425.

^a Liv. lib. viii. cap. 13. Flor. lib. i. cap. 11.

The Sidicini and Aufones conquered.

P. Cornelius Rufinus dictator.

Attilius Regulus, the former laid siege to Cale the metropolis of the Aufones, which he took by means of covered galleries, and moveable towers, which he invented on this occasion for screening his men, and carrying on the attacks without molestation. After this achievement, both consuls marched against the Sidicini; but, the year being expired before they had finished their conquest, their successors, T. Veturius Calvinus, and Sp. Posthumius Albinus, putting themselves at the head of the troops which Valerius had commanded, entered the enemy's country, and laid it waste without opposition. Upon the return of the consuls to Rome, a report being spread, that the Sidicini had assembled a formidable army, and were joined by the Samnites, a dictator, P. Cornelius Rufinus, was appointed to march against them. His authority did not last long; the augurs found his nomination defective in some circumstances, and obliged him to abdicate; a plague raged at this time in Rome, the aruspices, carrying their superstition still farther, declared, that all the auspices of the year had been infected by the contagious air, and that the inauguration of the consuls themselves had been faulty. On this superstitious prejudice, the chief magistrates of Rome were displaced, and an interregnum ensued. Next year the fasces were transferred, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*, to L. Papirius Cursor, and C. Pætilius Libo Visolus, who, in all likelihood, reduced the Sidicini; for we find no other epoch of their reduction (O). They were succeeded by A. Cornelius, a second time consul, and Cn. Domitius, who were obliged to name a dictator, upon a groundless report, that the Gauls were preparing for a war with the republic. Papirius Crassus was the man they pitched upon, and he chose Valerius Poplicola for his master of the horse. While the dictator was employed in raising an army, more certain news came, that all was quiet on that side. However, as the Samnites had assembled forces to oppose Alexander king of Epirus, the dictator kept his army in the field, till the Samnites, upon the retreat of that prince, disbanded their troops. In this same year, the number of Roman citizens being greatly increased after

(O) Livy neither mentions these consuls, nor gives us any account of this year; which is a great omission, and would con-

found the whole chronology of the republic, were it not for the *Fasti Capitolini*, which name the above mentioned consuls.

the

the reduction of the Latins, two new tribes, the Mæcian and Scaptian, were added †.

The addition of two tribes.

During the tranquility which Rome enjoyed, after the reduction of the Latins, there sprung up in her bosom a new kind of monsters, more to be dreaded than any foreign enemy. A number of women of distinction, according to some writers three hundred and sixty, plotted together, upon what provocation we know not, to dispatch their husbands by poison; and took the opportunity of an epidemical distemper to execute their wicked design. People were surpris'd to see so many men of note die, and all with the same symptoms; but had no suspicion of this parricide, as we may term it; against which there was then no law provided. At length their wickedness was discovered by a woman, who was in the service of one of those female assassins, and assisted her in preparing her poison. This slave applied to Q. Fabius, who was at that time curule ædile; and having, upon promise of impunity, discovered to him the whole mystery of iniquity, the ædile imparted the secret to the consuls, and the consuls to the senate; by whose order the slave, attended by some officers, went to the houses of above twenty Roman ladies, who were all found busy in preparing poison. Among these were two patrician women, Sergia and Cornelia, who being brought before the assembly of the people, and there examined, maintained, that they had prepared only medicines for the sick, in which there were no poisonous ingredients. In consequence of this declaration, the slave, finding herself suspected of calumny, proposed, that the two ladies should take their own potions. When the senate ordered the experiment to be made, Cornelia and Sergia desired to confer with their accomplices; which request being granted, they all drank their own poison, and delivered themselves from a more cruel death. The republic ascribed this unheard-of prodigy to a spirit of madness, sent as a punishment by the angry gods; and therefore to appease their wrath, had recourse to the ceremony formerly practis'd in the time of plagues, and general calamities. The senate ordered the consuls to nominate a dictator, to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Accordingly Cn. Quintilius was rais'd to that dignity, and L. Valerius Potitus made general of the horse, only to renew this superstitious ceremony; which was no sooner performed, than

A plot formed by some Roman women to poison their husbands.

† Liv. lib. viii. cap. 17.

he resigned his transient dignity, and gave way to the consulate of L. Papirius Crassus, a second time consul, and L. Plautius Venno^u.

The Privernates revolt.

In the beginning of their year, the Privernates, in conjunction with some of the inhabitants of Fundi, revolted at the instigation of Vitrius Vaccus, a native of that city, who enjoyed all the rights of a Roman citizen, and had even made himself an inhabitant of Rome. The Privernates, on the approach of the two consuls, retired into their city. Then Plautius, with one part of the army, entered the territory of Fundi, where he was met by the senate of that city, who protested that they had no share in the revolt. The consul wrote to Rome in their favour, and marched to join his colleague, who had already blocked up Privernum. But, during the siege, one of the consuls was called back to Rome, to preside in the comitia for electing new consuls, the city being alarmed at the news of the Gauls being in motion. The new consuls, L. Æmilius a second time, and C. Plautius, entered upon their office the day they were chosen, though before the usual time, and drew lots for their commands. It fell to Æmilius to act against the Gauls; and to his colleague to carry on the siege of Privernum. Æmilius made the levies with the utmost vigour, admitted of no excuse, but put all, without distinction, who were able to bear arms, upon the military roll. But the great army raised on this occasion marched no farther than Veii, where the consul received certain advice, that all was quiet among the Gauls. He then joined his colleague before Privernum, which, being already fatigued with a long siege, surrendered, and delivered up Vitrius, the author of the revolt, who was by an order from the senate scourged and beheaded. The two consuls, on their return to Rome, were honoured with a triumph, and Æmilius acquired the surname of Privernas.

Privernum taken.

What now remained was, to punish the Privernates. Such of the senators as had continued in the place after the revolt, were removed beyond the Tiber, and forbid to pass the river, under the penalty of a great fine. As for the innocent multitude, and the prisoners taken in the war, the consul Plautius used all his interest in their behalf. He led the captives to the door of the senate-house, and made a moving harangue in their favour. The senators were divided in opinion, some inclining to clemency,

others to severity. The only source of those unhappy men was humble supplication, They were Volsci, a nation proud, and capable of as generous sentiments as the Romans; for one of them, being asked by a senator, who was for putting them all to death, what punishment he and his fellow-captive deserved, answered with great intrepidity, "We deserve that punishment which is due to men who are jealous of their liberty, and think themselves worthy of it." Plautius, perceiving that his answer exasperated some of the senators, endeavoured to prevent the ill effects of it, by putting a milder question to the prisoner: "How would you behave, (said he), if Rome should pardon you?" "Our conduct (replied the generous captive), depends upon your's. If the peace you grant us be honourable, you may depend on a constant fidelity on our part: if the terms of it be hard or dishonourable, lay no stress on our adherence to you." Some of the judges construed these words as menaces; but the wiser part, finding in them a great deal of magnanimity, cried out, that a nation, whose only desire was liberty, and only fear that of losing it, was worthy to become Roman. Accordingly a decree passed in favour of the prisoners, and Privernum was declared a municipium. Thus the bold sincerity of one man saved his country, and gained it the privilege of being incorporated into the Roman state *.

*Privernum
declared a
municipi-
pium.*

Next year, in the consulate of C. Plautius Proculus and P. Cornelius Scapula, the Romans gave umbrage to the Samnites, by planting a colony in Fregellæ, situated in their neighbourhood, and proved the occasion of that bloody war which soon after broke out between the two nations. In the mean time the Palæopolitans, taking the advantage of this new discontent of the Samnites, committed hostilities in the Roman territories. These people were originally Eubæans, who, coming into Italy, built Cumæ, and thence spreading themselves farther, founded the city of Naples, or Neapolis, that is, the *New City*. In the neighbourhood of Naples they found a town ready built, of which they possessed themselves, calling it Palæopolis, or Palaiopolis, that is, the *Old City*. These Palæopolitans were the first of all the Greeks who ventured to attack the Romans. Their confidence was founded upon a report, that the Samnites would soon be at war with the Romans. The news of this unexpected invasion

Yr. of Fl.
2031.
Ante Chr.
317.
U. C. 491.

*The Palæopolitans
make an
irruption
into the
Roman ter-
ritories.*

* Liv. lib. viii. cap. 20, 21.

arrived at Rome just before the comitia by centuries were assembled to appoint new consuls, and the comitia by tribes to choose new tribunes of the people. The latter chose M. Flavius, a man of a most infamous character, who had been accused not long before of violating a woman of distinction. C. Valerius, one of the curule ædiles, was his chief prosecutor; and the evidence being clear, fourteen of the twenty-nine tribes had already voted him guilty, when the accused cried out with great protestations, that he was innocent. Valerius, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, exclaimed with a louder voice, "What is that to me, whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou be destroyed?" The tribes were so offended at these words, that they immediately acquitted Flavius, though evidently guilty by a great majority of suffrages. A few months after, he lost his mother; and, as it was then customary to offer sacrifices in honour of the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than usual, and distributed the flesh among the people, who had favoured him at his trial. This gratitude proved more beneficial to him than he expected. The people remembered him in the comitia, and chose him, though absent, for one of their tribunes *.

The consul marches against the Neapolitans.

A new rupture between the Samnites and Romans.

The comitia by centuries raised to the consulate L. Cornelius Lentulus; and Q. Publilius Philo a second time. The latter marched against the Neapolitans; and, in order to cut off their communication with Neapolis, from whence they were supplied with men and provisions, encamped on a narrow tract of ground between those two cities. His colleague posted himself with another army near Capua, to keep the Campanians in awe. In this camp he received undoubted intelligence, that the Samnites, jealous of the progress of the Roman arms, had solicited the inhabitants of Privernum, Fundi, and Formia to revolt. Upon this information, the senate sent an embassy into Samnium, complaining of a conduct so contrary to the faith of treaties. The ambassadors met with a haughty reception; but, without losing their temper, after having heard the complaints of the Samnites, which chiefly related to the rebuilding and fortifying Fre-gellæ, returned the following answer: "The injuries you complain of require a great deal of time to be examined. As therefore we have common friends and allies, let us refer our differences to their arbitration." "Arbitrators,

* Liv. lib. viii. cap. 22. Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 1.

(cried

(cried the Samnites), we will have none, but the gods, and our arms. Battles will determine our pretensions better than words. Mars shall put an end to our disputes in the plains of Campania. Go, Romans; tell your consuls, that we wait for them between Capua and Sueffula. Our swords will there determine which of the two nations ought to give law to the rest of Italy." The ambassadors replied, "We shall not take our orders from you; our generals will lead us whither they think fit, and we shall follow them." In the mean while the time for the new elections drawing near, the senate, without recalling the consuls, ordered a dictator to be named, to preside in the comitia. The consul Cornelius nominated M. Claudius Marcellus, a plebeian, who chose Sp. Posthumius Albinus master of the horse. But the augurs pretending that the nomination was invalid, Marcellus was obliged to abdicate the dictatorship, and Posthumius the command of the horse. The people, imagining that the view of the augurs was only to wound the plebeian interest, made loud complaints, and murmured at that ambitious college; but in the end superstition prevailed, and, the government falling into an interregnum, C. Pætilius Libo, and L. Papirius Mugellanus, were chosen consuls. These, putting themselves at the head of the army which Cornelius had commanded, entered Samnium; and, being joined by the Lucanians and Apulians, two nations to which the Romans had been hitherto utter strangers, penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and seized three of their cities, namely, Allifæ, Callifæ, and Rufrium. On the other hand Publilius, being continued by the people, through the influence of the tribunes, at the head of the same army he had commanded the year before, with the title of proconsul, took Palæopolis, by a stratagem contrived and executed by two of the citizens.

*Palæopolis
taken by a
stratagem.*

Four thousand Samnites, and two thousand of the inhabitants of Nola, a city of Campania, having entered the town before it was invested, under pretence of strengthening the garrison, kept the inhabitants in a state of slavery, and committed all sorts of debaucheries, which they extended even to the wives of that unhappy people, and their children of both sexes. In this distress the Palæopolitans, having long waited in vain for relief from the Tarentines, resolved at length to have recourse to their

enemies, in order to deliver themselves from the oppression of their defenders. Nymphius and Charilaus, the two chief magistrates of the city, took upon them, with the consent of the principal inhabitants, the execution of the enterprize. Charilaus escaped as a deserter to the Roman camp, where he imparted to the proconsul the resolution his countrymen had taken. Publilius received him kindly, and put him at the head of three thousand Romans, who, at a proper time, were to attack the town in that part where the Samnites defended it. In the mean time Nymphius, who had staid in Palæpolis, and kept a private correspondence with his colleague, contrived another stratagem, and so blinded the Samnite commanders, that they fell without any suspicion into the snare he had prepared for them. He advised them to equip the fleet which lay in the port, and make a descent in the Roman territories, in order to oblige the Romans to quit Samnium, and the neighbourhood of Palæpolis. This motion being approved, Nymphius contrived to employ the Samnite troops in the laborious work of setting the ships afloat, which lay dry on the shore. By these means, that part of the wall, which the Romans were to attack, being but weakly guarded, Charilaus, in consequence of advice received from his colleague, advanced at the head of three thousand Romans; and, being favoured by his friends, made himself master of the place. The Samnites, who were employed on the shore, finding themselves shamefully over-reached, fled with precipitation, and arrived in their own country without either arms or baggage, where they were exposed to the ridicule of all their neighbours, who continually approached them with the equipment of the Palæpolitan fleet². For this success Publilius obtained a triumph, though he was neither consul nor dictator³.

The Lucanians enter into a league with the Samnites.

The reduction of Palæpolis created new enemies against the Romans in Great Greece. The Tarentines, having lost their protector, Alexander king of Epirus, and being jealous of the growing power of Rome, by a stratagem seduced the Lucanians, who had gone over to the Romans, into a league with the Samnites. They bribed a company of young Lucanians of good families to scourge their own backs, and then shew themselves to the people; pretending that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the Roman consuls, to whose camp curiosity had led them. The Lucanians, suffering them-

² Liv. lib. viii. cap. 45.

³ Idem. *ibid.* cap. 26.

selves to be imposed on by so gross a cheat, immediately convened a national assembly; and, without examining into the truth of so improbable a fact, decreed that war should be declared against the Romans, and their ancient alliance with the Samnites renewed. Pursuant to this resolution an embassy was sent to the latter, who could scarce believe the deputation real; and therefore would not hearken to their proposals till hostages were delivered, and Samnite garrisons put into all their towns. The Lucanians complied with all their demands, without discovering the imposture till it was too late to repent ^b.

While the affairs of the republic prospered abroad, the poor debtors had the good fortune to shake off the only yoke which now lay heavy upon them. By one of the laws of the Twelve Tables, creditors were impowered to seize their insolvent debtors, and keep them in their houses, till by their services or labour they had discharged the sum they owed. A young plebeian of extraordinary beauty, and of a good family, named Publius, had voluntarily made himself a slave to L. Papirius, in order to pay his father's debts. Papirius conceiving a detestable passion for the young man, and finding his virtue proof against all his promises and caresses, caused him to be scourged most unmercifully. After this cruel treatment Publius, having found means to make his escape, complained publicly of the inhuman usage he had met with, and related the occasion of it. The people, filled with compassion for the young plebeian, and with resentment against his master, forced the consuls to assemble the senate; and, presenting Publius before them, with his back bloody, demanded justice on their knees. The senate had regard to their cries; and, without decreeing any thing against Papirius, whose crime was not sufficiently proved, passed a decree, which was readily accepted and confirmed in the comitia. It enacted, that, for the future, no person whatsoever should be held in fetters, or other bonds, but for some crime that deserved it, and only till the criminal had suffered the punishment due by law; and that creditors should only have a right to attach the goods, and not seize the persons of their debtors ^c.

Creditors disabled from seizing the persons of their debtors.

In the following consulate of L. Furius Camillus and D. Junius Brutus, the Vestini, a people on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, took arms against Rome, but were de-

The Vestini defeated by the consul Brutus.

^b Liv. lib. viii. cap. 27.

^c Idem ibid. cap. 28.

Fabius engages the Samnites, and gains a complete victory.

feated by Brutus, who seized on the two cities of Cutina and Cingilia^d. Camillus, who was to act against the Samnites, being sick, named to the dictatorship L. Papirius Cursor, who appointed Q. Fabius Rullianus to be general of the horse. The dictator took the field against the Samnites; but soon after returned to Rome, on account of some religious scruples relating to the auspices consulted previous to his departure. Before he left the army, he forbade Fabius, whom he entrusted with the command, to venture a battle in his absence. But Fabius, disdainful to be restrained, notwithstanding the dictator's prohibition, attacked the Samnites, and gained a complete victory, having killed above twenty thousand of them on the spot. The young conqueror, elated with success, instead of lodging the spoils of the enemy in the quaestor's hands, caused them all to be burnt, that they might not increase the pomp of the dictator's triumph. Besides, he did not send any account of his victory to the dictator, under whose auspices he had fought, but only to the senate. The dictator, incensed at this arrogance, set out in all haste from Rome, to punish his disobedient general of the horse. But Fabius, having timely notice of his coming, and of his design, called together the troops, and, in a seditious harangue, committed to them the defence of his life and fortune. His speech was applauded by the legions; they all promised him their assistance; and protested, that nothing but death should separate them from a commander under whose conduct they had gained so signal a victory.

Is condemned by the dictator, but rescued by the soldiers.

In the mean time the dictator arrived; and, having assembled the troops, ordered the crier to call the general of the horse to appear before him. Fabius obeyed the summons; and, being questioned by the dictator concerning his disobedience, returned only dark and confused answers. As he could offer nothing in defence of his cause, Papirius ordered the lictors to strip him, and prepare their rods and axes. But while the executioners were tearing off his cloaths, he found means to escape, and to retire among the triarii. A loud shout was immediately heard from the place whither Fabius had fled, which was answered by the whole army. The soldiers declared in his favour; but expressed their sentiments very differently. Some threatened the dictator; others begged pardon for the offender. Those who stood next

to the tribunal, desired Papirius, in a suppliant manner, to spare the life of his general of the horse, and not condemn all the troops in his person. The lieutenant-generals of the army, who surrounded the dictator, intreated him to defer the execution till the next day, to give the soldiers time to cool, and to take some time to calm his own mind. The dictator continued inflexible; nay, he commanded, with an angry tone, the lieutenant-generals to leave the tribunal. The sedition now increased, and the soldiers grew more furious. The dictator commanded silence, but neither he nor his criers could be heard. The legionaries were ready to offer violence to their general; but night approaching, put an end to the tumult.

Fabius escaped to Rome, where his father found means to have the senate immediately assembled, in order to obtain a decree in his favour. But Papirius, arriving on a sudden, took his place in the senate, and ordered the lictors to seize young Fabius. In vain did the senators intercede for the criminal; Papirius was inexorable. The father, having no other resource, appealed to the people in comitia. There had never yet been any instance of an appeal from the sentence of the dictator. Nevertheless Papirius did not think fit to disallow the superior authority of the people, so that the cause was brought before the comitia assembled in the forum. Thither repaired the dictator with few attendants; but the Fabii were guarded by all the people of distinction in Rome. Both the Fabii ascended the rostra with the dictator. The son had a right to harangue the people from thence, as general of the horse; but the father had no right, it being the privilege of magistrates only to appear in that place. Papirius therefore sternly ordered him to be pulled down, as not being in office; and also commanded the son to descend as a criminal who had forfeited the privileges annexed to his office. The father, placing himself then at the foot of the rostra, broke out into bitter invectives against the haughtiness and cruelty of Papirius; cited the case of Minutius, and L. Furius, who had not been so severely punished, though they had fought contrary to the advice of the dictators Cincinnatus, and the great Camillus; and omitted nothing that could be urged in this cause. He clamoured, he complained, he called upon the gods and men for help; and, embracing his son, shed a flood of tears. The whole assembly was inclined to the Fabii; but Papirius was supported by the military laws, the rules of discipline, which were deemed inviolable,

*The father
of Fabius
appeals
from the
dictator to
the people.*

the dignity of his office, and the dictatorial edicts. He reproached the Romans with degeneracy from that heroic love of their country, which used to prevail over all paternal affection, and private views; he urged the examples of Manlius and Brutus, who had courage to sacrifice their own children for the sake of the public good; he expatiated on the evil consequences of admitting appeals from the dictator to the people, and especially in cases of disobedience in war; and concluded with asking the tribunes, whether they were willing to answer those consequences with their heads? These words threw both the tribunes and the people into great perplexity. They pitied the Fabii, though they could not condemn the severity of Papirius. They knew the receiving of appeals from the sentence of the dictator would indeed increase the power of the plebeians; but they were afraid of the consequences of so dangerous an encroachment on a sovereign authority, and therefore they became intercessors for the criminal, humbly beseeching the dictator to pardon his general of the horse. The Fabii themselves fell prostrate at the dictator's feet, and implored his clemency.

The dictator, at the request of the people, pardons the offender.

The dictator, causing silence to be made, spoke to this effect: "Military discipline, and the authority of generals, are to be preserved inviolate. The temerity of Fabius exposed both to great dangers: but he has not been judged innocent; only pardon is asked for him. This I readily grant, in deference to the Roman people, and to the intercession of their tribunes. They have not pronounced him innocent as judges, but intercede for him as friends. Live then, Quintus Fabius, more fortunate in this unanimous consent of all orders in the republic to save you, than in the victory you lately gained. Live, Fabius, though you have dared to commit a crime which your father himself, had he been in my place, would have expiated with your blood. You shall be received again into my favour at your pleasure. But as to the Roman people, to whom you owe your life, you can never express your gratitude to them better, than by punctually and implicitly obeying, whether in peace or in war, your lawful commanders. Go; you are at liberty." These words were followed by loud acclamations; some congratulating Fabius, others expressing their gratitude to Papirius. The dictator, and his general of the horse, were conducted to their houses by crowds of people of all ranks*. The many triumphs, with which we shall see

* Liv. lib. viii. cap. 30—35.

him hereafter honoured, will prove him worthy of the zeal which Rome shewed for his deliverance.

While Papirius was in Rome, the Samnites, taking advantage of his absence, insulted the Roman army, knowing that their leaders would not move from their camp to engage them, for fear of meeting with the fate of Fabius. M. Valerius, one of the lieutenant-generals, suffered a detachment of Romans to be cut in pieces, though he might easily have rescued them; saying, that he dreaded the severity of the dictator more than the enemy's forces. This incident greatly contributed to increase the hatred of the soldiery to their general, who soon after arriving in the camp with his new general of the horse, L. Papirius Crassus, found the legions so exasperated against him, that he lost all hopes of making any great progress. The Samnites, informed of the present disposition of the Roman army towards their general, immediately offered him battle. Papirius, thinking himself obliged in honour to accept the challenge, drew up his army; and, in order to supply the want of affection in his soldiers by his skill in war, posted them so advantageously, that it was not possible for them to be entirely defeated. They fought, indeed, very faintly, for fear of increasing the glory of their general: but, after all, they did not lose the battle; there being more Samnites killed than Romans, though the number of the wounded was much greater on the side of the latter.

The army ill affected to Papirius on account of his severity;

After the battle, Papirius acted a part which surprised every body. Not one officer, or soldier, who had behaved negligently in the engagement, was so much as reprimanded. Laying aside the majesty of a dictator, he, with his lieutenants, visiting the wounded soldiers, looked into their tents, enquired into their health, and charged their tribunes to take particular care of them. As in this sudden change he did not discover the least affectation, the army began in a short time to shew him a tender affection. The people in the city, being informed of this unexpected alteration, thought fit to continue him six months longer in his employment; during which he obtained a complete victory, over-ran Samnium, and compelled the enemy to sue for peace. This the dictator granted them, on these preliminary conditions: 1. That they should clothe all his troops: 2. That they should give them a year's pay: and, 3. That they should get the treaty confirmed by the senate. Papirius, on his return to Rome, was decreed a triumph; after which he presided at the election of the

who changes his conduct, and gains their affections.

Defeats the Samnites.

new

new consuls, C. Sulpitius Longus, and Q. Aulius Cere-
tanus, and then resigned his dignity. The Samnites, to
whom the senate had only granted a year's truce, no
sooner heard, that Papirius had quitted the dictatorship,
than they took the field. As the Apulians declared for
them against Rome, the forces of the republic were di-
vided between the two consuls. Aulius marched against
the Apulians, and Sulpicius against the Samnites; but
little progress was made in the war this year, both Sam-
nites and Apulians keeping themselves close in their
strong-holds.

*The con-
suls, Q.
Fabius and
L. Fulvius
Corvus,
gain a
complete
victory.*

The next year, when Q. Fabius, who had been gene-
ral of the horse to Papirius, and L. Fulvius Corvus were
consuls, the Samnites, having raised a formidable army,
surprised the Romans, commanded by the consuls, in a
very disadvantageous post, and obliged them to hazard a
battle, which lasted many hours, without being decisive.
At length, the imprudence of the Samnite cavalry turned
the fortune of the day in favour of the Romans; for the
consuls having designedly sent away the baggage of the
army under a small guard, the enemy's horse, not being
aware of the feint, wheeled off to seize it. But when
they had put themselves into disorder, and loaded their
horses with the plunder, the consuls detached all the Ro-
man cavalry, with orders to attack them; a service which
they performed with such success, that few of them
escaped. Then the Roman cavalry, marching a great
way about, engaged the rear of the Samnite infantry,
which had not yet given ground. This unexpected at-
tack threw them into confusion. The Romans, pursuing
their advantage, cut all those Samnites, who kept their
ground, in pieces. Those who fled were, for the most
part, put to the sword by the horse, and among the rest
the general himself. The Samnites, after this defeat, re-
penting of their breach of the truce, endeavoured to pa-
cify the Romans, by making restitution of what plunder
they had taken contrary to the faith of the treaty. They
likewise passed a decree, that Brutulus Papius, a man of
distinction among them, the chief author of the rupture,
should be delivered up to the Romans: but he having laid
violent hands on himself, his dead body was carried to
Rome, with all the captives and spoil taken in the time
of the truce^f. After this event, the consul Fulvius re-
turned to Rome; but his colleague led an army into Apu-

^f Liv. *ibid.* cap. 36—40.

lia, where he must have been attended with success, since he is said, in the Fasti Capitolini, to have triumphed over the Samnites and Apulians (P), while his colleague Fulvius triumphed over the Samnites only. A. Cornelius was chosen dictator this year, to preside at the games in the absence of the consuls, and during the sickness of the prætor.

The Samnites, being refused a peace, notwithstanding the satisfaction they had given for the breach of the truce, made the necessary preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. They appointed Pontius, an able and experienced officer, to command their troops. He was the son of Herennius, who had been at the head of their armies in his younger days, but now led a private life, and was, on account of his wisdom, considered as an oracle. On the other hand, the Romans, in their comitia, chose T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius consuls; who, putting themselves at the head of the army, took their route to Calatia, a city of Campania. When they arrived at that place, Pontius, who had encamped among the woods and mountains, in the neighbourhood of Caudium, a little town in Samnium, about a league from Calatia, caused a report to be spread, that the Samnite army was laying siege to Luceria in Apulia; and, the more effectually to deceive them, he sent ten of his soldiers, in the habit of herdsmen, to lead flocks into different parts between Caudium and Calatia, with instructions to agree all in the same report, when taken by the enemy. The stratagem had the desired effect; and the Romans, in a council of war, resolved to advance into Apulia, and relieve Luceria. Some were for marching the farthest way, through the open country; others, fearing lest the place should, in the mean time, fall into the enemy's hands, preferred the shortest way to the safest; and their opinion prevailing, the army began to march through narrow passes, and climb rocks, which seemed inaccessible. At length they arrived at the fatal

The Samnites prepare to carry on the war.

Yr. of Fl.
2037.
Ante Chr.
311.
U. C. 437.

(P) The mistake of some scribes to him all the glory of that exploit. But the Fasti Capitolini inform us better; and, upon their authority, we have rectified the mistake of the Latin historian (1).

(1) Fasti Capitol. Vell. Patercul. lib. i. & Liv. lib. viii. cap. 37.

The Caudine Forks.

place, which has been since known by the name of the Caudine Forks.

The Roman army surrounded.

The consuls marched through a narrow hollow way, having on each side thick forests; and from thence descended into a valley, so surrounded with hills, that it looked like an amphitheatre. The hills were so covered with trees and briars, as to be absolutely unfurmountable. The valley was very marshy, being watered by torrents rolling down from the rocks, as well as by subterranean springs. The Samnites had taken care to block up the passage with huge trees laid across. The consuls gave orders to clear it; but finding it impracticable, and discovering great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences, began to fear an ambuscade. To avoid, therefore, being surrounded, they instantly turned back, and endeavoured to get out of the valley by the hollow way through which they had entered; but in vain, the Samnites having already blocked up the passage. The legions, finding themselves thus shut in, without a possibility of escaping, stood immovable, fixing their eyes on one another, with marks of astonishment and despair. The consuls pitched their tents, and ordered fortifications to be raised, as if they were disposed to continue in that situation. The soldiers knew this was a fruitless precaution, but nevertheless raised a rampart along the water, though they were scoffed at and insulted by the enemy from the tops of the eminences. As soon as the army was encamped, the chief officers repaired to the consuls; but the time of the consultation was rather spent in lamentations, than in discovering salutary expedients.

Pontius consults his father, in what manner to treat the Romans.

His answer.

Meanwhile, night came on, which the soldiers spent in discoursing on their unhappy situation; while the Samnites, elated with this surprising success, could not agree among themselves what use to make of it. In this irresolution, it was unanimously agreed in a council of war to consult old Herennius, the general's father, and the oracle of the nation. A messenger was therefore dispatched, informing him of the extremity to which his son had, by his address, reduced the Roman army, and desiring him to advise them how they should treat an army heretofore invincible, but now entirely at their mercy. The wise old man returned by the messenger the following answer: "I advise my son to open a passage for the Romans, and let them return home, without doing them the least harm." The officers, surprised at this answer, and imagining the messenger had misunderstood Herennius,

nus, sent him back; and then the old man gave a very different answer from the former: "Tell the council (said he), that I would not have them spare the life of one Roman; let them be all put to the sword without distinction." The strange difference between these two answers made the Samnites imagine, that there was some concealed meaning, and pressed Pontius to desire his father would come to the camp and explain himself. Herennius came accordingly, and being introduced to the council, told them, that Rome was a powerful state, from whose affection they might promise themselves the greatest benefits, and from whose enmity they had reason to fear the greatest misfortunes. "If we gain her affection (said he), by a signal act of generosity, we secure a happy and lasting tranquility. On the other hand, if we cut off the flower of her youth at one blow, we shall be safe, at least for a time. In good policy, there is no medium between these two extremes. Either save the Romans in such manner as to make them your friends, or destroy them so effectually, as to render them less formidable enemies." But Pontius and his officers rejecting this advice, chose a middle way, not so generous as the former, nor quite so rigorous as the latter. They spared their lives, but at the same time treated them as conquered enemies.

While the Samnites were deliberating about the fate of the Romans, the scarcity of provisions increased daily in the invested camp; and no hopes of relief appeared, or possibility of escaping. Some soldiers, indeed, attempted to get out of the snare, but were met and driven back by the enemy's parties. In this desperate condition, the consuls sent a deputation to the Samnites, to desire a peace upon equitable terms; or, in case of refusal, to invite them to a battle. Pontius, with a haughty air, gave the deputies the following answer: "We have no battles to fight; the victory is already gained. Not a man of your legions shall escape, till you have all been disarmed, and passed one by one under the yoke. Besides, the Romans shall leave Samnium, and withdraw their colonies from all the cities which they have taken from us. Tell your consuls this from me; and if they do not accept the terms proposed, appear no more in my presence." This answer occasioned as great a consternation in the camp, as if they had received advice that they must die. Nothing was heard but sighs and lamentations. The consuls were ashamed to declare themselves for so degrading a treaty, and yet could not reject it in the extremity to which they were reduced.

The desperate condition of the Roman army.

They submit to the hard terms offered them.

While they were thus hesitating, L. Lentulus, an officer of distinction, who by his wise conduct had raised himself to one of the chief posts in the army, and had been at the head of the deputation to the Samnites, broke silence; and, in a long harangue, shewed the necessity of complying with the conditions imposed, if they desired to save their own lives, or had any regard to the preservation of Rome. His advice was followed; and the consul signified to the Samnite general, that they consented to lay down their arms, and pass under the yoke; upon which intimation a conference ensued. In this interview, Pontius desired to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with Rome; but the consuls declared, that they could not conclude any thing that would be binding, without the approbation of the people, and the ministry of the *feciales*. "Our power (said they), extends no farther than to make promises, which we are ready to strengthen by giving hostages." The stipulation was accepted; and, on the day appointed, the consuls, lieutenant-generals, *quæstors*, and military tribunes, went to the camp of the Samnites to sign it. They promised to quit Samnium, evacuate the places where they had planted colonies, and suffer the Samnites to live in peace, according to their own laws. To secure the performance of this convention, the Samnites demanded six hundred Roman knights as hostages, with this condition, that they might cut off their heads, if the republic did not perform the consul's promises.

The Roman army passes under the yoke.

Upon the return of the consuls, sorrow and rage filled the hearts of the Roman soldiers. They could scarce restrain themselves from offering violence to their generals, and cutting them in pieces. They formed dreadful ideas of their future dishonour, and were meditating to avoid it by laying violent hands on themselves, and perishing by their own swords. At length the fatal hour came: the six hundred knights marched first out of the camp, unarmed, and with their under-garments only. These were put into the enemy's hands, who conducted them to a place of safety. The two consuls appeared next, and were ordered to pull off their *paludamenta*, or military clokes, the ensigns of their dignity. At this sight the soldiers, though full of rage against their generals, turned away their eyes, and changed their anger into compassion. They could not see officers of so high rank treated with so much indignity, without the utmost concern. While the legions were lamenting their hard fate, the consuls passed first under the yoke, stripped of their habits, and half-

half-naked; the inferior officers followed according to their rank, and at last the soldiers, one by one. The Samnites insulted them, as they passed; and, if any Roman returned but a fierce look, he was immediately knocked down, or killed. When they had all undergone this disgrace, they were allowed to depart; and might have reached Capua the same day: but, partly out of distrust of that city, though allied to Rome, and partly from shame to be seen there in so miserable a condition, they threw themselves on the ground at some distance from that city, with a design to pass the night in the open air, without food or refreshment. The Capuans, being informed of their misfortune, and forlorn condition, immediately sent cloaths, horses, arms, and even lictors and fasces to the consuls, with provisions for the whole army. Next day, when they drew near the city, the senate and people went out to meet them with all demonstrations of friendship and kindness; but the consuls, and their troops, overwhelmed with shame, seemed unaffected with this friendly hospitality. With their eyes fixed on the ground, they remained in silence, and shunned all discourse. They were attended by many of the Campanian nobility to the frontiers of their country: but they still shewed the same dejection of mind; which made the Capuans conclude, that the Roman courage was for ever lost, and paved the way for a revolt. One of them, however, a venerable old man, by name Ofilius Calavius, judged differently of the dumb confusion of the Romans. "Their eyes, (said he), fixed on the ground, shew how much they are bent on revenge; and their refusing to be comforted is a proof that they will never forgive the affront they have received."

The Capuans relieve them in their distress.

At Rome the people began to be in pain for the consular army. News had been brought that it was surrounded by the enemy, and some levies had been made to march to their assistance. But in the mean time the senate receiving an account of the shameful peace, a stop was put to all farther preparations. The people, as soon as it was communicated to them, put on the deepest mourning, without waiting for orders from the senate. The administration of justice was neglected; the shops in the forum were shut; the Roman matrons laid aside their jewels and gold rings; the magistrates quitted their robes: in

Rome in great consternation.

short, the city was in as great consternation as the army. Every one uttered the most bitter invectives against the cowards, as they styled them, and the authors of so shameful a treaty. The multitude were even for shutting them out of the city, as wretches who did not deserve to see their native country again. But the indignation of the Roman people was soon turned into pity; for their unhappy countrymen no sooner appeared at the gates, than the whole city flocked out to see them, every one lamenting, with tears in their eyes, the misfortunes of those unhappy men. However, they did not enter the city till night, and then every one stole home, and hid himself in his own house. Even the consuls, looking upon themselves as disgraced, and in a manner degraded, relinquished public society, and only performed one function of their office, which was indispensable; that is, they named a dictator to preside in the comitia for the election of new consuls, thinking themselves unworthy to appear at the head of the republic in the Campus Martius.

S E C T. II.

From the Nomination of Q. Fabius Ambustus to be Dictator, to the first Carthaginian War.

*Q. Fabius
Ambustus
named
dictator.*

*An inter-
regnum.*

THE dictator named was Q. Fabius Ambustus, who chose Ælius Pætus general of the horse; but some defect being found in his nomination, Æmilius Papus was substituted in his room; and the general of the horse he chose was Valerius Flaccus. But the people were so dissatisfied with all the magistrates of this unfortunate year, that the latter promotion was as much disliked as the former; whence it was thought expedient to let the republic fall into an interregnum, in order to have a more fortunate president of the comitia than either of the dictators, whom such cowardly consuls had named. And now two of the greatest men in the republic were unanimously chosen, namely, Papirius Cursor a second time, and Publius Philo a third time. These entered upon their office the very day of their election, which was a degradation to their predecessors, who had deserved this affront by their ill conduct. The first business of the new consuls was to be invested in their office by a decree of the senate, declaring, that in point of religion there had been no defect in their inauguration. After this ceremony,

mony, the treaty with the Samnites being laid before the senate, Posthumius, one of the consuls, who had been parties to it, declared, that the Roman people were not bound by it, as not being made by their order. He added, that the honour of the republic would be saved, by surrendering him, and the rest of the officers concerned in the treaty, to the Samnites; a step which he moved might be taken without delay. The senators were struck with admiration at the generosity of Posthumius, and expressed no less compassion for him than esteem. However, they approved of the proposal, and passed it into a decree. Two tribunes of the people, who had been raised to that office since their return from the Caudine Forks, opposed at first the decree, maintaining, that the satisfaction designed for the Samnites was no way sufficient to discharge the demands they had upon Rome; and that, as to themselves, they were sacrosanct magistrates, inviolable, and, though concerned in the treaty, not to be delivered to the enemy. But Posthumius offered such arguments to prove the invalidity of the Caudine convention, and the sufficiency of the designed satisfaction, that the two tribunes consented at last to follow the fate of their companions, and with that view laid down their office. The Romans now talked of nothing but Posthumius; they compared his devotement to that of Decius; and, thinking that their republic was obliged in justice to nothing more than to deliver up into the hands of the Samnites those who had signed the treaty, they began to make the necessary preparations for a new war. There needed no orders to raise troops; an army was soon formed, almost wholly of volunteers, the Roman youth burning with rage against the Samnites. The Caudine legions were again enrolled, and a powerful army, marching from Rome, in a few days arrived in the neighbourhood of Caudium.

The treaty with the Samnites declared null.

As the Samnites were encamped at a small distance, preparations were made for surrendering the Roman officers in due form by a *fecialis*. Cornelius Arvina, who was deputed by the republic to perform the ceremony, began with commanding Posthumius's hands to be tied. But the officer, who was to do it, not tying the cord hard enough, out of respect to so great a man, the generous Posthumius reproved him: "Why do you spare me (said he)? tie me in such a manner, that the enemy may have nothing to suspect in my surrender." In this captive state the Roman officers were led to the Samnite camp, and presented to Pontius by the *fecialis*, who expressed him-

The consuls delivered to the Samnites.

self in these words, as he had been directed: "Since these men undertook to conclude a peace with you without any commission, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourselves from any share in the punishment, which they alone have deserved." Posthumius, as offended at what the *fecialis* said, immediately gave him a blow on the thigh with his knee, and sternly said, "I am now a Samnite, and you an ambassador of Rome. I have, therefore, by this blow, violated the law of nations; and you are thereby authorized to make war upon us." But this subterfuge served only to raise the indignation of the Samnite general, who laid before the *fecialis* and Posthumius the injustice and baseness of their proceedings. He told them, that they were obliged in justice either to observe the treaty, or send the Roman army again to the Caudine Forks. "There (said he) your consuls may reject the peace if they dislike it. Your honour will then be untainted, and your fidelity, as well as the law of nations, will be preserved inviolate. But shall the lives of your troops be saved, and you enjoy all the advantages of the peace, while we reap no benefit from our conventions? Are these the equitable maxims upon which your *feciales* are ordered to act? Is this the justice with which you proceed in treating with other nations? As for you, Posthumius, do you think the gods will take you for a Samnite; and consider the blow you have given as an insult offered to the Roman people by our nation? Is it thus that you sport with religion and the faith of treaties? Are such ludicrous transactions becoming the gravity of a consul, and the dignity of a great nation? Lictors, untie the prisoners, and leave them free to go where they please ^h."

*The Romans re-
new the
war.*

Posthumius, and his company, returned safe to the camp, where all things were getting ready to enter upon action. On the other hand, the Samnites kept close within their entrenchments, having, as Livy says, a foreboding of the misfortunes which afterwards beset them. They repented, but too late, of their not having hearkened to the wise counsels of Herennius. So that Pontius, though conqueror, lost, in a great measure, his reputation, while Posthumius, though conquered, and obliged to pass under the yoke, gained immortal glory among his countrymen; for the Romans looked on the liberty he had gained them of making war, as a certain victory.

^h Liv. lib. ix. cap. 8—11.

Not long after this transaction the inhabitants of Satricum revolted from the Romans, and being supported by a detachment of Samnites, surprised Fregellæ, a Roman colony. The Fregellani attempted to drive the enemy out of their city. All the inhabitants, women and children not excepted, exerted themselves in defence of their lands, their altars, and their household gods; and, from the tops of their houses, made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy. The Samnites and Satricani, fearing they should be obliged to abandon the city, caused a proclamation to be made, offering quarter to all who should lay down their arms. Upon this many submitted; but the Samnites not thinking themselves obliged to keep their word with any of the Roman name, caused all who had surrendered to be burnt alive. Only a small number of the Fregellani, who had not listened to the enemy's promises, retired fighting, and, with their swords, cut themselves a way through the midst of the Samnite troops¹. At the same time some of the chief citizens of Capua entered into a secret plot to shake off the Roman yoke.

*Fregellæ
surprised
by the
Samnites.*

These commotions induced the republic to have recourse to the usual remedy in times of great danger. C. Mænius being named dictator, appointed M. Fossius, surnamed Flaccinator, to be general of the horse. The dictator's commission was, contrary to custom, confined to the inquiring into, and punishing crimes against the state. The name of a judge from whom their lay no appeal, so terrified the heads of the conspiracy in Capua, that they killed themselves to avoid a more severe death. As it is common for persons, who are charged with an extraordinary commission, to stretch their power to the utmost extent, the dictator pretended, that this authority extended not only to the traitorous practices of the Capuans, but to all conspiracies whatsoever, and wheresoever, formed against the Roman state. By conspiracies, the dictator, who was a plebeian, as well as his general of the horse, meant all intriguing and canvassing for offices; and accordingly summoned several of the patricians to appear before him on accusations of that kind. Not only the accused, but the whole body of the nobility, taking the alarm, threatened to prosecute the dictator, and his general of the horse, as soon as their magistracy should be expired, for the crime which was laid to their charge. "Our birth alone (said they), leads us to the highest posts.

*C. Mænius
dictator.*

¹Liv. lib. ix. cap. 12.

It is only for the common people, and such upstarts as the dictator, and his general of the horse, to raise themselves by intrigues." Mænius, though free from guilt, yet fearing lest his reputation should suffer by the reports that began to prevail, assembled the people, and having laid before them the uprightness of his intentions, abdicated the dictatorship, that he might be brought to a trial. Foflius likewise resigned his office for the same purpose. The senate, by a special commission, appointed the consuls to be their judges. Those of the nobility, who appeared against him, were examined; and, upon a full hearing, the accused were honourably acquitted^k.

*The Sam-
nites over-
thrown.*

The operations of the campaign this year were carried on by Cornelius Lentulus dictator, and Papirius Cursor, not in quality of consul, but of general of the horse to Cornelius. These two divided their forces; Cornelius, at the head of the troops that had passed under the yoke, encamped near Caudium; while Papirius marched with the rest of the army to Luceria in Apulia, where the six hundred Roman knights who had been delivered up to the Samnites as hostages, were kept. Pontius would have willingly marched to the relief of Luceria; but he could not leave his own country open to the Romans; and, besides, he was apprehensive, that the dictator would harass his rear. He therefore resolved to put all to the issue of a battle, and accordingly, marching out of his entrenchments, drew up his men. As soon as the Samnites appeared in battle-array, the dictator assembled his men, in order to exhort them, as was usual on such occasions, to behave themselves valiantly. But the soldiers, animated with an eager desire of revenge, demanded a battle with such clamours, that the general's harangue could not be heard. When they drew near the Samnites, they pressed their standard-bearers to march faster, and fell upon the enemy with such fury, as cannot be expressed. It was then usual to begin general actions with some discharges of darts and stones; but the ardour of the Romans was so great, that they threw down the darts they had in their hands, and without orders drew their swords, and rushed upon the enemy with an impetuosity, that seemed akin to madness. This irregular animosity, or rather rage, did more than could have been expected from the wisest conduct. Nothing could stand before them; the Samnite army was put to the rout at the first onset,

^k Liv. lib. ix. cap. 26.

and their camp taken and plundered. All the Samnites found in the camp were put to the sword, and as great a slaughter of them was made there, as in the battle ¹.

After this victory the dictator marched into Apulia, to assist his general of the horse in the reduction of Luceria. And indeed the arrival of the victorious army proved very seasonable, Papirius being distressed for provisions. The dictator dispersed his legions about the country, and by these means facilitated the bringing of provisions to the camp, and at the same time intercepted the convoys that were sent to the besieged. The Samnites, who had likewise an army near Luceria, finding it impossible for the besieged to hold out long, resolved to give the besiegers battle, which Papirius did not decline ^m. While preparations were making for a general action, ambassadors arrived from Tarentum, ordering both parties to stop all farther hostilities, and protesting, that their state would declare against that nation which should obstinately persist in carrying on the war. Papirius was not a man to be terrified with the menaces of the Tarentines: nevertheless, he pretended to pay a regard to them, and answered the ambassadors, that he would confer with the dictator. The two generals had a conference; but it was only about the most proper measures to be taken with relation to the engagement. While the Romans were sacrificing, as was customary before a battle, the ambassadors came for their answer. Papirius accosted them; and with an air, which shewed how little he was affected by the menaces of so insignificant a people, "The chickens (said he) feed perfectly well: the gods are also much pleased with our sacrifices: under their protection therefore we are going to fight, as you perceive." He then led his troops out of the camp, in order to engage the enemy; but the Samnites, being seized with a sudden terror at their approach, declared that they would keep themselves within their camp upon the defensive, out of respect to the Tarentines. The legionaries, encouraged by this timorous conduct of the enemy, attacked their entrenchments with such vigour and resolution, that they soon forced them, and put all to the sword who came in their way, sparing neither men, children, slaves, nor even the beasts of burden. Scarce any of the Samnites would have escaped, had not the generals restrained the fury of the soldiers, thirsty of blood, on account of the six hundred knights in

Luceria besieged by Papirius.

A threatening message from the Tarentines.

The Samnites defeated in Apulia.

¹ Idem ibid. cap. 13.

^m Liv. ibid.

Luceria, whom the besieged, if reduced to despair, might have put to death, for the sake of having the barbarous pleasure of sacrificing them, before they perished themselves ^a.

Nothing now remained, in order to put a glorious end to the campaign, but the reduction of Luceria, which was vigorously defended, both by the inhabitants, and those Samnites who had escaped from the battle, and taken refuge in the besieged city; among whom was, as some authors write ^c, Pontius himself. But, notwithstanding this reinforcement, the garrison, being greatly distressed by famine, offered to capitulate, and to release the six hundred hostages, on condition that the Romans would raise the siege. Papirius peremptorily insisted, that all the soldiers in the place, to the number of seven thousand, should, unarmed, and with one garment each, pass under the yoke, and Pontius at the head of them. These conditions were accepted, and the Romans had the pleasure of retaliating upon Pontius and his Samnites the ignominy which he had made them, and their consuls, undergo at the Caudine Forks. But their greatest satisfaction was the recovery of the hostages, which had been delivered up to the Samnites, as securities for the execution of a shameful treaty ^p.

Next year Papirius was raised to the consulate a third time, and Q. Aulius Ceretanus a second time. The latter defeated the Samnites in Apulia, and made himself master of Ferentum, which was either subject to, or in alliance with them. The former reduced Satricum, and put all the Samnites, who were there in garrison, to the sword. The chief authors of the revolt were beheaded, and a strong body of troops was left in the place to keep the inhabitants in awe. Papirius, after the reduction of this important place, returned to Rome, where he received the honours of a triumph, which he had not obtained the preceding year for greater exploits, because he had acted under the auspices of a superior magistrate. The people were overjoyed to see him enter Rome, with all the pomp due to a man who had recovered the lustre of the Roman name ^q. Livy represents Papirius as a hero, who would have been a match for Alexander the Great, had he attempted the conquest of Italy. But be that as it will, it is certain, that no general in Italy equalled him in military skill, or surpassed him in courage. He was

^a Liv. *ibid.* cap. 14.
cap. 15.

^c *Idem* *ibid.*

^p *Idem* *ibid.*

^q *Idem* *ibid.* cap. 16.

*Luceria
taken.*

*The Sam-
nites pass
under the
yoke.*

*Ferentum
and Satri-
cum taken
by the Ro-
mans.*

*The cha-
racter of
Papirius.*

very remarkable for his strength of body, and wonderful swiftness in running; whence he had the surname of *Cursor*. He was a man of tall stature, and majestic mein, indefatigable in military labours, sharing with the common soldiers the severest toils of war. No general ever kept his troops to harder service. We are told, that his cavalry having one day desired a little relaxation from their fatigues, after their return from a successful expedition, he pleasantly answered; "Yes, by all means; nothing is more just: when you alight from your horses, I excuse you from the trouble of stroking their backs." Such was the character of the famous *Papirius*, a man celebrated by all the Latin writers.

In the following consulate of *L. Plautius* and *M. Foflius*, many of the Samnite cities sent deputies to the Roman senate to sue for peace; but could only obtain a two years truce. In *Apulia* the consul *Plautius* spread so much terror, that the cities of *Teanum* and *Canusium* surrendered, and gave hostages. At this time *Capua* was so divided by intestine broils, that the inhabitants desired the Romans to give them a governor, and new laws to keep them in order; and it was on this occasion that the Romans turned *Campania* into a præfecture, and sent thither a præfect. Two new tribes were formed this year, one in *Campania*, perhaps to make the *Campanians* some sort of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up; this was called the *Falernian* tribe, no doubt from the hill *Falernus*. The other was established in the country watered by the *Ufens*, on the confines of *Latium*; and therefore called *tribus Ufentina*; so that the Romans had now thirty-one tribes, which enjoyed the right of suffrage in the *comitia*. This year ended with a census, taken by *L. Papirius Crassus*, and *C. Mænius*, censors; by which it appeared, that the number of men in Rome fit to bear arms amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand.

The next year, *Q. Æmilius* and *C. Junius* being consuls, all *Apulia* was subdued; so that this year proved no less prosperous to the republic than the former. At the same time *Antium* followed the example of *Capua*, in having recourse to Rome for a governor and laws, which the republic readily granted. The succeeding consuls, *Sp. Nautilus* and *Popilius*, no sooner entered upon their office, than they were obliged by the senate, contrary to custom,

The Samnites obtain a two years truce.

Yr. of Fl.
2042.
Ante Chr.
306.
U. C. 442.
Apulia subdued.

* Vide Liv. lib. ix. cap. 17, 19. & Aurel. Viêt. de Viris Illustr.
• Liv. lib. ix. cap. 20. Diœd. Sic. lib. xx.

*The Sam-
nites de-
feated.*

to nominate a dictator to carry on the war. Perhaps the people had but an indifferent opinion of their ability in military affairs. At least, it is certain, that they did not appear at the head of the army, but continued at Rome the whole time of their administration. L. Æmilius, who was appointed dictator, and named L. Fulvius his general of the horse, received the command of the legions from the preceding consul, and with those troops began the campaign, by laying siege to Saticula, a city of Campania, in alliance with the Samnites, who came with a very numerous army to relieve the place. But the dictator defeated them in a pitched battle; after which they abandoned their camp in the night, and left the Saticulans without any hopes of relief. However, the besieged made such a vigorous resistance, that the dictatorship of Æmilius expired before he could make himself master of the place^r. The new consuls were, the famous Papirius Cursor, and Publius Philo, both chosen the fourth time. They had triumphed more than once over the Samnites, were men of distinguished merit, and the greatest and most experienced generals the Romans had. But, nevertheless, they had the mortification to see the conduct of the war committed to another general, while they continued inglorious, and, in a manner, out of office, at Rome. Such mortifications are often given to men of the greatest merit in popular governments. The people obliged the consuls of the preceding year to raise to the dictatorship Q. Fabius Rullianus, who had been formerly general of horse to Papirius, and ever since his implacable enemy.

*Fabius
dictator.*

The new dictator immediately set out for Saticula, where he received the command of the legions, not from the consuls, but from Æmilius the dictator, whose office was expiring. No sooner had the Roman army changed its general, than the Samnites, who, after their defeat, had laid siege to Plifstia, a city in alliance with Rome, returned to Saticula, in order to try their strength with the new general. Fabius, without being alarmed at the great number of their troops, continued his attacks with the infantry, while his cavalry guarded the camp under the command of Aulus Ceretanus, general of the horse. The Samnites having one day advanced to the very gates of the camp, and there insulted the Roman cavalry, Aulus, without consulting the dictator, sallied out with the

^r Liv. lib. ix. cap. 21.

Roman knights. This was a breach of discipline, like that which Fabius himself had been formerly guilty of. Aulius at first repulsed the enemy, but the Samnite general rallied his troops, revived their courage, and led them back to the charge. Aulius, discovering him, rushed on him, and laid him dead with one blow. The Samnites, not disheartened at the death of their general, thought of nothing but revenge. Aulius, having penetrated too far into the enemy's squadrons, could not retire. The Samnites, having surrounded him on all sides, called upon their general's brother, that he might have the glory of revenging his death. Accordingly, he dismounted Aulius, and, full of rage, stabbed him as he lay on the ground. It was then thought a singular honour to get possession of the body of a general who had been slain in battle: the Samnites, therefore, exerted their utmost efforts to carry off the body of Aulius. The Roman knights alighted from their horses to recover it, and save Rome from reproach. The example of the Roman cavalry was followed by the Samnites; so that a battle was fought on foot, in which the Romans prevailed, and carried back to the camp the body of their general ^u.

The Samnites defeated by Fabius, dictator.

After the loss of the battle, the Samnites returned to the siege of Plifstia, which they took by assault. Fabius pursued that of Saticula, which at length capitulated. From Saticula the dictator marched to besiege Sora, a city in the country of the Volsci, which had declared for the Samnites, after having massacred a Roman colony settled in their territory. The Samnites, after the reduction of Plifstia, followed him; a circumstance which Fabius no sooner understood, than he returned, and came to an engagement with them, near the narrow pass of Lentulæ, not far from the Pomptin marshes. Night put an end to it, before either party could claim the victory; and both armies next day continued their march to Sora, the one to attack, the other to defend it. In the mean time, the dictator, having chosen a new general of the horse, ordered him to go to Rome, to bring fresh levies from thence, and, concealing his march from the enemy, to wait, in some secret place near Sora, the signal for entering upon action. The dictator's orders were obeyed, and Fabius soon arrived with a strong reinforcement. The dictator, pretending fear, kept close in his intrenchments,

Saticula taken by Fabius.

^u Liv. *ibid.* cap. 22.

The Samnites defeated by stratagem.

in order to draw the enemy's army near his camp. Accordingly, the Samnites marched up to the very rampart, when the Roman general, without informing his legions of the succours Rome had sent, hung out a red standard over his tent, which was the signal for battle. By the fright the dictator had affected to shew, and his sudden resolution of giving battle, the soldiers thought themselves in great danger, and imagined they had no remedy left but to make a furious sally on the enemy. The dictator confirmed them in this opinion, by observing, that they must either conquer or perish; that he had ordered fire to be set to their baggage and tents; but that they might soon make up the loss, by the plunder of the cities which had shaken off the Roman yoke, and joined the enemy. However, he gave private orders to burn those tents only which were next to the ramparts; and this was the signal for the general of the horse to put his troops in motion, and fall upon the enemy's rear. As every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, the enemy was, at the same time, attacked in the front and the rear with such fury, that they were forced to give way, and leave the Romans not only masters of the field, but also of their camp, which was taken and plundered. After this action, the dictator led his troops back to their own camp, where, to their great joy and surprize, they found that only a small number of their tents had been burnt ^w.

Sora besieged;

Fabius, having thus defeated the enemy, laid siege to Sora, which was continued by his successors in the command of the army, M. Pætilius Libo and C. Sulpicius Longus, the new consuls. We know not what motives could induce the republic to disappoint Fabius of a triumph, which he had well deserved, but did not obtain on his return to Rome. The two consuls encamped close to the walls of the besieged city, in order to keep the garrison continually alarmed; but the inhabitants, not in the least intimidated either by the nearness of the Romans, the number of their troops, or the late defeat of the Samnites, defended themselves with incredible bravery. While the consuls were under great perplexity, not knowing in what part to make their attack, the walls being every where well guarded, a deserter from the town came to the Roman camp, and offered to put the place into their hands, with the help of ten chosen men only. The

^w Liv. *ibid.* cap. 23.

consuls, having examined and approved of his scheme, removed, by his advice, their camp some miles from the city; a motion which lulled the garrison into a false security. Then the deserter, at the head of his ten men, stealing in the night-time into a part of the upper city, where the wall was unguarded, because thought inaccessible, placed them in a narrow steep path, leading from the citadel to the lower town. This step being taken, he ran down into the lower town, crying, "To arms! to arms! the enemy are in possession of the fortress." The inhabitants, seized with a panic, thought of nothing but saving their lives by flight. Men and women, leaving their houses, rushed in confusion out at the gates, which the Romans, on their approach, finding open, entered the city without resistance, and put all those to the sword whom they found in the streets. The consuls sent the authors of the revolt, and of the massacre of the Roman colony, to Rome, where they were all, to the number of two hundred and twenty-five, by an order from the senate, scourged and beheaded *.

*and taken
by stratagem.*

From Sora the consuls marched into the country of the Ausones; and, upon information that the people had formed a design to revolt, sent detachments to surprise their three chief cities, Ausora, Minturnæ, and Vescia. As the troops employed in this enterprize were out of their commander's sight, they set no bounds to their fury. The three cities were taken on the same day, and at the same hour: the Roman soldiers, having entered them under various disguises, destroyed the inhabitants without distinction of sex or age, upon the bare suspicion of a rebellion. Luceria, which had revolted, and massacred the colony which Rome had sent thither, was taken the same year by assault; and both the inhabitants, and Samnites, who defended it, put to the sword. The senate was at first inclined to raze a city, which had so often revolted; but it was afterwards resolved, that a colony of two thousand five hundred men should be sent thither from Rome, to secure that important place, which kept all Apulia in awe †.

Three cities of the Ausones surprised in one day.

Luceria retaken.

The Campanians, notwithstanding these examples of severity, prepared once more to shake off the Roman yoke. Rome, therefore, thought fit to name a dictator to keep the inhabitants in subjection by arms, and the fear of an

* Liv. lib. ix. cap. 24. Diod. Sic. lib. xix. cap. 25, 26.

† Liv. lib. ix.

**C. Mænius
dictator.**

**The Sam-
nites over-
thrown,
with great
loss.**

**Several ci-
ties reco-
vered from
the Sam-
nites.**

absolute magistrate. C. Mænius was raised to that dignity the second time; and he chose the same general of the horse, M. Fossilius, whom he had named to that post in his former dictatorship. The dictator entered Campania, and encamped near Capua, while the consul Sulpitius, at the head of another army, drew near Caudium, where the Samnites waited for the insurrection of the Campanians. The armies came soon to an engagement, in which the Samnites were entirely defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men killed or taken. After this victory the consul marched to Bovianum, one of the chief cities of Samnium; and, having posted his troops round it in quarters of refreshment, returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph².

For the ensuing year L. Papirius Cursor a fifth time, and C. Junius Brutus a second time, were raised to the consulate. Nevertheless a dictator was nominated to carry on the war against the Samnites. The person honoured with that dignity was C. Pætilius Libo, surnamed Visolus, who, having chosen M. Pætilius Libo, one of the last year's consuls, general of horse, set out for Bovianum, where the legions were cantoned; but in a short time he quitted that post to retake Fregellæ, which the enemy abandoned at his approach. After he had placed a strong garrison in it, he led his army against Nola, which he quickly reduced, together with the cities of Atina and Calatia, both in the same province³. The following year, when M. Valerius Maximus, and P. Decius Mus, were in the consulate, the Romans, being alarmed with the apprehensions of a war with all Hetruria, appointed C. Sulpitius Longus dictator to conduct it. But the Hetrurians continuing quiet within their own bounds, no hostilities ensued on either side, the dictator being unwilling to stir up new enemies against the republic.

The city was greatly disturbed by the innovations of Appius Claudius, at this time censor. He was a man extremely positive; had boldness enough to undertake any thing, and steadiness to maintain whatever he undertook. He was an able civilian, and looked upon as the oracle of Rome in difficult points of law; a lover of reformation, who took delight in overturning the most ancient institutions, and setting up for a legislator. This man, in his censorship, took upon him to humble the pride of the senate. It belonged to the censors to draw up, and read,

² Liv. lib. ix. cap. 27. Fasti Capitolin.

³ Liv. *ibid.* cap. 28.

after every lustrum, a list of those citizens who had a right to sit and vote in the senate. Hitherto none but patricians, or the most considerable among the plebeians, had been admitted into it; but Appius introduced the libertini, that is, the sons of those who, having been slaves, had obtained their liberty. Having thus debased the senate, he attacked the priesthood, which was confined to the nobility alone ^b. The most ancient priesthood in Rome was that of the temple of Hercules, and of the altar which had been consecrated to him, under the name of ara maxima, by Evander, in memory of his victory over Cacus. This priesthood, when first instituted, had been conferred upon a reverend old man of the Aborigines, named Potitius, and had continued ever since in his family; but Appius prevailed upon the Potitii to resign this venerable priesthood to the slaves belonging to the public, a most contemptible race of men. By these means he gave the nobility a fatal blow, the priesthood being the only dignity which the plebeians at this time did not share with the patricians ^c. Thus Appius brought a blemish on the senate and priesthood; but made his country amends by the useful works he undertook with success; for, by an aqueduct seven miles long, he supplied Rome with plenty of wholesome water; and made the famous road from Rome to Capua, which lasted entire above eight hundred years ^d. The remains of this wonderful work are still the admiration of all the nations in Europe (Q).

Yr. of Fl.
2047.
Ante Chr.
307.
U. C. 447.

Appius admits the sons of freedmen into the senate, and debases the priesthood.

His aqueduct and highway.

The

^b Liv. lib. ix. cap. 29.

^c Liv. ibid. cap. 29.

^d Id. ibid.

(Q) The aqueduct of Appius began seven miles from Rome, and, after having run a great way under ground, discharged part of its waters between the gates Capena and Trigemina, and conveyed the rest quite to the Campus Martius. It was dug under-ground, and laid very deep, says Frontinus (1), either because the art of levelling was not then brought to perfection; or because the Roman territory was too much exposed to the in-

curSION of her enemies, who might have destroyed the stately arches, and intercepted the water. This water was for many ages called aqua Appia, from the censor's name. The other work he undertook was equally useful to the republic. The road from Rome to Capua was almost impassable, especially for the Roman armies, which were often obliged to cross the Pomptin marshes, to make war in Samnium, and in the east of Italy. The cen-

(1) Frontin. de Aquæductibus.

*The senate
restored to
its former
dignity.*

The succeeding consuls, C. Junius Brutus a third time, and Q. Æmilius Barbula a second time, cancelled, with the consent and approbation of the people, the list of senators which Appius had made, and restored that body to its former lustre. This same year the people recovered a privilege which the consuls and dictators had usurped. A law had been formerly made, by which the people, assembled in the comitia, were empowered to choose six legionary tribunes (R) out of the twenty-four in the consular

for, therefore, levelled a way through rocks and hills, and built bridges over the rivulets and marshes, for the conveniency of the troops, and of travellers. This road was called the Appian Way, and also the Queen of Roads. Procopius gives us the following description of it (2): "This way was made, says he, nine hundred years ago, by the order and direction of Appius Claudius, who was then censor. It reached from Rome to Capua, that is, about a hundred and forty-two miles. It was broad enough for two chariots to go abreast, without incommoding each other. The stones which Appius employed in this great work were brought from a great distance, and as hard as flints. These great pieces of rock were squared and smoothed by the most skillful workmen. The stones were so artfully joined together, without any cement, that they looked like one single stone for several miles together. This vast work continues entire to this day, without having received the least injury from carts and carriages." In the beginning of Augustus's reign, it reached to Brundu-

fium, that is, two hundred thirty-eight miles farther. But no historian tells us who was the author or manager of this second work. Most writers believe, that it was done by Julius Cæsar; for Plutarch says, that the Roman people committed the inspection of the Appian Way to him, and that he spent great sums of money upon that work. The Appian Way is still in many places as entire as when it was first made (3). It was paved with several beds of great stones, and bounded on each side with a deep ditch, to receive and carry off the water.

(R) There were, generally speaking, six legionary tribunes in each legion, which they commanded by turns; that is, first, two of these tribunes commanded in chief at a time, and then were succeeded by two others; and so round. Varro tells us, that these officers were called tribunes from the beginning of the monarchy, because a legion then consisted of three thousand men only, and had but three tribunes, there being as many legionary tribunes as thousands of men in each legion. Polybius tells us, that,

(2) Procop. de Bell. Gothic. lib. i.
Letters, Letter iv.

(3) See Dr. Burnet's

consular armies, consisting of four legions. Each consul had two legions under his command, which made a consular army; and each legion was commanded by six tribunes. The generals had for some time nominated all the legionary tribunes, without regard to the right of the people. L. Attilius, therefore, and C. Marcius, two tribunes of the people, got a decree passed in the comitia, empowering the people not only to choose six tribunes, as formerly, but sixteen out of the twenty-four: but this law was not of long duration. Though the republic at this time has no employment for a fleet, yet the people, at the motion of Decius Mus, one of their tribunes, appointed two officers, styled by the Latin historians *duumviri navales*, to superintend naval affairs^c.

New regulations.

Duumviri navales.

In the mean time the two consuls took the field, Brutus against the Samnites, and Æmilius against the Hetrurians. The latter found the enemy ready to lay siege to Sutrium with a very numerous army, all the lucumonies, except that of Aretium, having furnished their contingents of troops. The consul no sooner appeared than the Hetrurians, depending on their numbers, offered him battle, which Æmilius did not decline. Both Romans and Hetrurians behaved with extraordinary courage and resolution. The latter, being obstinately bent to conquer or die, fell in great numbers round their colours, without giving ground, or being put in disorder. The battle lasted till night, when both armies retired in good order to their respective camps. But as the Hetrurians had lost more men than the Romans, they thought fit to decamp in the night, and leave the consular master of the field^f (S).

The Romans and Hetrurians engage.

^c Liv. lib. ix. cap. 30.

^f Idem ibid.

of the twenty-four tribunes who were in each consular army, consisting of two legions, fourteen were chosen out of the equites or knights, who had served five years, and the other ten out of such as had served in the foot full ten years. The former were called *tribuni juniores*, and the latter *tribuni seniores*. But these qualifications were not rigorously insisted on till the later ages, when the Roman

discipline became more regular.

(S) Livy deprives Æmilius of the glory of a triumph for this victory, which he represents as very inconsiderable; but it is certain, from the Capitoline marbles, that he entered Rome triumphantly on the ides of the month Sextilis (4); whence we are inclined to think, that this victory was more complete than that writer makes it.

(4) *Fasti Capitol.*

*Cluvia and
Bovianum
taken.*

The other consul took from the Samnites Cluvia and Bovianum. All those in the former, who were able to bear arms, were put to the sword; the latter was given to be plundered by the soldiers, but the lives of the citizens were spared. The Samnites had now no refuge but in artifice; they endeavoured once more to entrap the Romans, and with this view spread a report in the Roman camp, that they had conveyed all their provisions and effects into the forest of Avernus, between Cumæ and Puteoli in Campania. The Roman troops, allured by the hopes of booty, entered the forest, where they were all surrounded by the enemy's forces, who lay concealed among the bushes. But the legions, rallying in an instant, threw all their baggage into an heap; and, without waiting for the word of command, drew up in battalia; then falling upon the enemy, obliged them to seek an asylum in those very woods which they intended to have rendered fatal to the Romans. As the Samnites could not retire on account of the brambles, and thickness of the forest, the Romans left twenty thousand of them dead upon the spot ^a. For this victory Junius Brutus enjoyed the honours of a triumph, on the nones of the month Sextilis ^b. During the administration of the following consuls, Q. Fabius a second time, and C. Martius, the censor Appius obstinately refused to quit his office, though his eighteen months, the legal time for its duration, were expired, presuming on the favour of the people, who were greatly pleased with his aqueduct and new road. Nevertheless Sempronius Sophus cited him to appear before the people for this infraction of the law. Seven of the tribunes were for committing him to prison; but the other three taking him under their protection, he carried his point, and retained the censorship alone (his colleague having resigned it in compliance with the law) more than three years longer.

*The Hetrurians are
defeated by
Fabius.*

During these disturbances, the Hetrurians encamped in the neighbourhood of Sutrium. The consul Fabius, falling upon them, gave them a total overthrow, took thirty-eight standards, and made himself master of their camp and all their baggage. Those who escaped the slaughter took refuge in the Ciminian forest. Fabius proposed, in a council of war, to pursue the conquered even into the most impenetrable parts of the wood; but not one officer was disposed to march in quest of the Hetrurians.

at the hazard of finding the Caudine Forks of Samnium in Hetruria. The Ciminian forest was, at that time, more impassable and dreadful than the Hercynian forest in Germany. Nobody, not even the merchants, had ever attempted to pass through it. However, Fabius resolved to enter it, thinking his victory was not complete while the enemy could conceal themselves in this forest. He had then with him a near relation, Cæso Fabius, who, knowing perfectly well the Hetrurian language, as he had been educated at Cære, undertook to examine the forest, and all its avenues. He took only one slave with him, who had learnt the language of the country, as well as himself. They disguised themselves in the habit of shepherds, bearing each a hatchet and two javelins, after the manner of peasants; but their chief security against a discovery was, the general notion, that no stranger would dare to enter that forest. In this disguise they travelled as far as Camerinum in Umbria, where Fabius, discovering himself to be a Roman, treated with the magistrates of the place, in the name of the consul, and obtained a promise, that if the Roman army should advance to those parts, they would supply it with a reinforcement of men, and provisions for thirty days. Upon the report made by Fabius at his return, the consul resolved to enter the forest, and carry the war into the very heart of Hetruria; a design which he executed with singular address. He ordered all his baggage to be removed out of the camp in the evening, and the infantry to follow it to a place where he designed to enter the forest. He himself continued in the entrenchments with the cavalry, which he led early in the morning to the skirts of the wood, where the enemy had placed some centinels. Having by these means kept the enemy in suspense, he returned, after some slight skirmishes, to his camp; but soon marched out of it again, by another gate, to join his infantry, which he came up with before night, and, together with them, entered the narrow passes on the opposite side to the enemy.

who penetrates into the Ciminian forest,

and opens a way into Hetruria.

Next morning, by day-break, he reached the top of the hill Ciminus, which gave name to the forest. From thence he surveyed with pleasure the vast and fruitful plains of Hetruria. He was not a little pleased with having broken through a barrier, which had been hitherto impenetrable to the Romans, and promised himself much spoil and great conquests. From Mount Ciminus he sent a detachment of legionaries, who not only brought off an immense booty, but defeated a tumultuous army, which had

assembled to rescue it out of their hands. After this expedition Fabius returned to his camp, where he found two tribunes of the people, sent thither to forbid him, in the name of the senate and people, to venture upon so dangerous an expedition. The tribunes, extremely pleased to find that the prohibition was come too late, and that the success of the project had put an end to the public fears, returned to Rome with the joyful tidings, that a way was opened into Hetruriaⁱ.

The Hetrurians overcome by Fabius.

The detachments which Fabius had sent out to plunder, having alarmed all Hetruria, and the people on the confines of that country, these two nations took the field together, and advanced to the camp before Sutrium, where they formed in the plain, and offered the Romans battle. But Fabius, pretending fear, kept close within his entrenchments. Having thus excited the enemy's presumption, he drew up his men, about the fourth watch of the night, within the entrenchment of the camp, caused the ramparts to be levelled, and the ditch to be filled; then marching out, surprised the enemy while half asleep, and lying scattered over the plain. Of the Hetrurians sixty thousand men were slain, or taken prisoners. Their camp was seized and plundered, those who had the good fortune to escape flying to the wood. This overthrow was so great, that the three lucumonies of Cortona, Aretium, and Perugia, immediately sent deputies to Rome, to solicit a suspension of arms, which they obtained for thirty years^k.

The Samnites gain considerable advantages.

The consul Marcius was not attended with the same success against the Samnites; for though at first he gained some advantages over them, and took Allifæ, a considerable place on the Volturnus, with several other castles and villages, he had the mortification to hear of the misfortune which befel the Roman fleet, the first Rome had ever put to sea. It was commanded by P. Cornelius, who having made a descent at Pompeia, beyond cape Palinurus, suffered his troops to penetrate too far into the country, so that the inhabitants had time to assemble and cut off their retreat. The Romans were forced to relinquish their booty; many were slain, and those who escaped were driven to their ships. This advantage, with a report spread among the Samnites, that Fabius had met with the Caudine Forks in the Ciminian forest, revived their courage to such a degree, that they gave Marcius battle,

ⁱ Liv. lib. ix. cap. 31, 32.

^k Idem, ibid. cap. 37.

which

which is allowed by all historians to have been a very bloody one, and to have cost both parties very dear. A great number of the knights, and several legionary tribunes, were killed; one of the lieutenant-generals was left dead upon the spot, and the consul was dangerously wounded. In order, therefore, to prevent any fatal consequences from this misfortune, the republic judged it necessary to choose a dictator; and wished to have that important office conferred upon Papirius Cursor, whose fate it was to be the refuge of his country. The difficulty was how to effect his nomination. It was doubted whether the consul Marcius was alive; and, besides, the Samnites had stopped up all the avenues to his camp. It was much questioned whether Fabius could be prevailed upon to raise his mortal enemy to the dictatorship, and whether Papirius would accept of that dignity from the hands of his old rival in glory. Under these difficulties the senate passed a decree, commanding Fabius to nominate Papirius to the dictatorship, and enjoining Papirius to accept it. This decree was sent by the senate to Fabius's camp at Sutrium, with a deputation of their own body, consisting of such persons as had all been consuls. When they read to him the decree of the senate, he was struck with surprise and confusion; but kept his temper, and retired to his tent without coming to any determination. At length, his love for his country getting the better of his private resentment, at midnight, according to the superstitious custom, he declared Papirius dictator; who, having appointed C. Junius Bubulcus to be master of the horse, marched with an army, which had been suddenly raised upon the alarm of Fabius's danger in passing the Ciminian forest, and arrived at Longula, on the frontiers of the Volsci, where Marcius delivered to him the troops under his command. Papirius offered the enemy battle; but they declining it, both armies continued some days quiet in their camps, watching each other¹.

*Papirius
Cursor
dictator.*

In the mean time Fabius, who was continued in the command of the army in Hetruria, with the title of proconsul, carried the war into Umbria, at that time in alliance with the Hetrurians, and gained a complete victory over the Umbrians. While Fabius was waging war in Umbria, the Hetrurians assembled the most numerous army they had ever raised, on the banks of a lake called Vadimonius. All the soldiers, who composed it, had

*Fabius
gains a
complete
victory
over the
Umbrians.*

¹ Liv. lib. ix. cap. 34.

made a vow to conquer or die : at least this is supposed to be the meaning of their Sacred Law, by which they are said to have bound themselves. But, whatever we understand by it, it is certain, that the Hetrurians shewed, by their obstinacy in maintaining the fight, how much power their sacred law had over their minds. What helped to promote unanimity, and create emulation, among their troops, was the leave which was given to every private man to choose himself a companion to fight by him. But Fabius was not afraid to engage an enemy who had even made it a point of religion not to give way. Both armies were so intent on trying each other's strength, that, as soon as they drew near, they rushed upon one another sword in hand, without losing time in throwing darts, as was usual, by way of prelude to the battle. The success was long doubtful, and this uncertainty increased the ardour of both parties. The Romans could scarce believe, that they were contending with the same people they had so often conquered. On the side of the Romans, their first line was cut in pieces, and the second repulsed ; so that the proconsul was obliged to bring his triarii to the charge, an expedient never used but in the utmost extremity. Nor was even this sufficient ; it became necessary for the Roman cavalry to dismount, and support the foot. But when the Roman knights, who were quite fresh, passing over heaps of dead bodies, had placed themselves in the front of the battle, they assaulted the enemy with such fury, that the latter began to give way. Then the legions, shattered and fatigued as they were, returned to the charge, overpowered the enemy, and obliged their army to fly in the utmost disorder and confusion. The Hetrurians lost the flower of their youth in this action ; their camp was taken and plundered, and their whole nation thrown into the utmost consternation ^m.

The Hetrurians overcome by Fabius.

The dictator Papirius was no less successful against the Samnites, whose general, to raise the courage of his men, had given them finer arms than usual. He divided his army into two bodies, one of which he clothed in stuff of various colours, and furnished with gilt bucklers ; the other was armed with silvered bucklers, and clad in white habits. That this novelty might not surprize the Roman soldiers, their officers observed, that true glory consisted in martial courage ; that gold and silver were of no use in battle but to enrich the conquerors ; and that those who,

^m Liv. lib. ix. cap. 39, 40. Flor. lib. i.

at the beginning of an engagement were the poorest, often proved the richest as the end of the conflict. The officers having thus raised the courage of their men with the hopes of booty, Papirius formed his army in the plain. He himself commanded the right wing; and his general of horse, Junius Bubulcus, the left, which faced the white battalions. Bubulcus, advancing with his legions, cried out, "I devote all these white men to the black Pluto;" and immediately forced them to give ground: the dictator observing the advantage, exclaimed, "What! will you, who have a dictator at your head, suffer the chief glory of the action to be gained by another?" This said, he pressed the soldiers to advance, and encouraged them with his example. At the same time his two lieutenants, M. Valerius on the right, and P. Decius on the left, who had both commanded armies in chief as consuls, putting themselves at the head of the cavalry, each on his own side, attacked the enemy in flank with great fury. Then the Samnites, seized with terror, fled with all speed to their camp. The plain was covered with gilt and silvered arms, and dead bodies in white cloth, and stuffs of various colours. The victory was so complete, that the Samnites abandoned their camp, which before night was taken and burnt. Papirius, having thus retrieved the glory of the Roman arms in Samnium, returned to Rome, where he was decreed a triumph, which was adorned with the rich arms he had taken from the Samnites. About the same time Fabius arrived from Hetruria, and triumphed also. Papirius, after his triumph, retired for the rest of his life from public business. The circumstances and time of his death are unknown; but all agree, that in him Rome lost one of the greatest generals she ever hadⁿ.

Papirius gains a victory over the Samnites.

When Papirius's dictatorship was expired, Q. Fabius the third time, and Decius Mus the second time, were raised to the consulate. Samnium fell by lot to the former, and Hetruria to the latter. Fabius took Nuceria, which had some time since joined the Samnites; whom he defeated afterwards in a battle, but without gaining any great advantage over them. Decius was attended with such success in Hetruria, that the whole nation desired an alliance with Rome: but as the way was now open for making the conquest of this rich country, the consul granted them only a truce for one year; and even that cost them dear: for Decius obliged them to pay his troops, and furnish

Nuceria taken from the Samnites.

every soldier with two suits of cloaths. While all was quiet in Hetruria, the Umbrians, having armed all their youth, formed a design of marching directly to Rome. This project put both the consuls in motion. The prudent Decius, leaving Hetruria, by long marches encamped in a place called the Pupinian field, lying in the way between Umbria and Rome, and there quietly waited for the arrival of the enemy. But the bold and enterprising Fabius no sooner received orders from the senate to cover Latium, than he left Samnium, crossed Sabinia, and, entering Umbria, encamped near a city called Mevania, on the banks of the Clitumnus. His sudden and unexpected appearance so terrified them, that some retired into strong situations, and others fled to the woods. However, a considerable body of the most resolute had courage enough to offer the consul battle, in which they behaved more like women than men. The Romans, rushing upon them, beat them down with their bucklers, without making use of their swords. They even surrounded whole bodies of troops, and made them prisoners, without striking a blow; for the words, "Lay down your arms," were no sooner heard in the ranks, than they all obeyed, and even delivered up to Fabius the authors of the war. So that little or no blood was spilt; but the whole army were made prisoners, and the rest of the nation soon after submitted to Rome. After this exploit, Fabius hastened back to Samnium, to oppose the enterprizes of that warlike people.

*The Umbrians
vanquished.*

*Appius
Claudius
chosen consul.*

When the time came for electing new consuls, Appius Claudius, who had kept the censorship five years in defiance to the laws, stood candidate for the consulate. He was no soldier, and it seemed very improper at that time to bestow the fasces upon any but great commanders. However, Appius, being supported by the people, was promoted to the consulate the first time with L. Volumnius Flamma. As he was not qualified for the command of the army, the senate obliged him to continue in the city, and left Fabius, in quality of proconsul, at the head of the army which he had commanded the year before. Appius, upon what motives we know not, did all that lay in his power to prevent Fabius from having the sole command of the army, and advised the senate to appoint him a colleague. But his proposal was rejected; and Fabius continued without any associate in the command of all the troops in Samnium, where he made the campaign with

* Liv. liv. ix. cap. 41. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix.

great success. The Samnites had advanced as far as Alifæ, on the banks of the Volturnus, and there the proconsul attacked them, and gained a complete victory. The conquered fled to their camp, which Fabius, as the day was already far advanced, did not attack, but kept it invested all night. Early next morning, while he was preparing to force it, the Samnites thought fit to capitulate, and surrender upon articles; the chief of which was, that all the natives of Samnium should have their lives spared, and be sent home; but that they should march out of the camp with only one garment, and pass under the yoke. As for the allies of the Samnites, the proconsul made no terms with them; so that they were all, to the number of seven thousand, made slaves, and sold by auction. The Hernici were separated from the rest, and sent to Rome to be examined, whether they had joined the Samnites as volunteers, or by a public order of their nation. The senate, after having examined them, kept them as slaves, and distributed them about in the villages and municipal towns near Rome.

Q. Fabius gains a complete victory over the Samnites.

While Fabius was thus employed against the Samnites, the consul Volumnius made war on the Salentines in the farthest part of Italy; with whom he fought some successful battles, and enabled his successors to make an entire conquest of that fruitful country. In the mean time the consular year being expired, the fasces were transferred to Q. Marcius Tremulus, and P. Cornelius Arvina, and at the same time Appius was created prætor; a post which, as he was an able civilian, and eloquent orator, well suited his talents. Marcius marched against the Hernici, who had taken up arms, provoked at the severe treatment which some of their countrymen, made prisoners in the late battle with the Samnites, had met with at Rome. The Hernici, formerly so formidable, were now become a contemptible people; for Marcius, in a few days, obliged them to surrender at discretion. The consul, having ended this war, hastened to join his colleague, who wanted his assistance, having suffered himself to be invested by the Samnites in narrow passes, where all his convoys were intercepted. The enemy, hearing of his march, went to meet him, and gave him battle, while his troops were fatigued with long marches, and in some disorder. The battle began with the usual fury of men under a necessity of conquering or dying; both the Sam-

Yr. of Fl.
2052.
Ante Chr.
296.
U. C. 452.

The Hernici subdued.

*The Sam-
nites de-
feated*

nites and Romans fighting with incredible resolution. As the attack was made not far from the camp of Cornelius, by the shouts he heard, and the clouds of dust which were raised, he judged, that his colleague was engaged with the enemy. He therefore, immediately ordered his troops to arms, marched out of his entrenchments, and, falling upon the enemy in flank, made his way to their camp, and set fire to it. At sight of the flames the Samnites were so discouraged, that they fled. The Romans pursued, cut them in pieces, till they were tired with slaughter, and then returned to their camp. In this action the Samnites lost thirty thousand men. While the Roman generals were congratulating each other on their victory, advice was brought, that a fresh body of Samnites appeared near the field of battle. These were new levies sent to recruit the army. They no sooner appeared, than the victorious legions, forgetting the fatigues they had already undergone, assembled before they had received the consul's order, drew up in battalia, and dispersed them with great slaughter. The Samnites sent deputies to the consuls, to sue for peace. The consuls referred the suppliants to Rome, after having obliged the vanquished to supply, by way of preliminary, the two armies with three months provisions, to give them a year's pay, and furnish each soldier with one habit ⁹.

*The fate of
the Hernici
determined.*

The two consuls being in the field, when the time came for electing new magistrates, P. Cornelius, surnamed Barbatus, was appointed dictator to preside in the comitia. He chose Decius Mus for his general of the horse; and the people elected Posthumius Megillus and Tib. Minucius Augurinus for the next year's consuls. At the same time the senate determined the fate of the Hernici. The cities of Alatrium, Ferentinum, and Verulum, which had continued faithful to the Romans, were allowed to choose, whether they would be governed by their own laws, or have the right of Roman citizens; and they preferred the former part of the alternative. The inhabitants of the other cities were obliged to be governed by the laws of Rome, and declared Roman citizens, but without the right of suffrage. They were forbid to hold any assemblies, or to marry out of their own cities. This law the Romans used to impose on conquered nations, to prevent a too strict union among them. At this time deputies arrived from Carthage, with a compliment and presents: these the republic accepted, and made others

⁹ Liv. lib. ix. cap. 43.

in return. The new consuls were ordered into Samnium, each at the head of a consular army, that is, of an army consisting of two legions^r.

The Samnites, notwithstanding their losses, had entered Campania, and laid waste the fruitful country of Falernum. Marcius therefore encamped in the neighbourhood of Bovianum; and Posthumius took his route towards Tifernum. The latter came to an engagement with the Samnites, the success of which being equal, Posthumius pretended to be worsted; and, in order to deceive the enemy, decamped in the night-time, and retired to the mountains. The Samnites followed, and posted themselves within two miles of his camp. Posthumius, having finished his entrenchments with the utmost dispatch, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend them, marched out at midnight with the rest of his army, and joined his colleague Minucius, who lay in sight of another body of Samnites. Minucius, being thus reinforced, marched with his two legions alone into the plain, and offered the enemy battle; which they accepted, not knowing that the other consul was arrived. The victory was disputed with great warmth on both sides. But when the Samnites were much fatigued, Posthumius and his troops falling upon them with fresh vigour, they were forced to save themselves by flight. The Romans made a dreadful slaughter, and took one-and-twenty ensigns. After this victory the consuls led their victorious troops to Posthumius's camp, and from thence sallied out upon the body of Samnites, which was posted there. This battle was more bloody than the former; the consul Minucius was killed, and Statius Gellius, the Samnite general, made prisoner. At length the Romans prevailed, and took twenty-six ensigns from the enemy^s. Upon the news of Minucius's death, the people at Rome immediately appointed Fulvius Curvus to succeed him, who took Bovianum, and other cities, for which he triumphed on his return to Rome. Why Posthumius, who seems to have deserved the same honour, did not triumph with him, we know not (T). In the succeeding consulate of

The Samnites enter Campania;

but are defeated.

The consul killed.

^r Liv. lib. ix. cap. 44.

^s Idem ibid.

(T) The Fasti Capitolini do not allow him this honour, with Minucius, who was killed in the battle (r), we have though Livy does; but as that author makes him triumph followed the Fasti.

(1) Liv. lib. ix. cap. 44.

The Samnites obtain a renewal of their alliance with Rome.

Sempronius Sophus and P. Sulpicius Saverrio, the Samnites, exhausted with the war, sent deputies to Rome, to desire a renewal of their ancient confederacy with the republic. The senate granted them their request, after they had given proofs of their sincerity, by receiving the consular army under the command of Sempronius with respect, and supplied the troops with provisions. The consuls, being now disengaged from the Samnitic war, marched against the Æqui, who, seduced by the bad example of the Hernici, had declared against Rome, and joined the Samnites. They were no more that formidable nation, which had often struck terror into the Roman legions; inaction had so enervated them, that they had not courage to keep the field; but sheltered themselves behind the walls of their cities, which the two consular armies invested, over-running their country, and laying it waste. The conquerors made themselves masters of forty-one towns in fifty days, most of which they rased or burnt, and thereby almost exterminated the whole nation of the Æqui. These rapid conquests spread such terror among the neighbouring nations, that the Marfi, Peligni, Frentani, and Marrucini, demanded an alliance with Rome, which they easily obtained. By this memorable expedition the consuls merited and obtained the honours of a triumph^t.

The Æqui subdued.

Q. Fabius acquires the surname of Maximus.

Q. Fabius, being this year censor with P. Decius Mus, reformed an abuse introduced by Appius, who had dispersed great numbers of freedmen, and the meanest of the people, among the country tribes: by these means acquiring a great influence in all elections, those men being entirely devoted to him. Fabius re-incorporated into the four city tribes the people Appius had taken from thence; so that they could influence no more than four tribes. This reformation was so agreeable to the republic, that the Romans gave Fabius, for this single act, the surname of Maximus, a title which he had not acquired by subduing the Hetrurians, the Samnites, and the Umbrians^u. This surname was ever after preserved in his branch of the Fabian family. The next year, when Cornelius Lentulus and L. Genucius were consuls, was employed in sending colonies to the conquered cities^w. In the succeeding consulate of Livius Dentor and Æmilius Paulus, the art of painting was introduced at Rome by C. Fabius, afterwards consul, who painted the

^t Liv. lib. ix. cap. 45.
lib. x. cap. 1.

^u Idem ibid. cap. 46.

^w Liv.

walls of a new temple, dedicated to the goddesses of Health, and thence got the surname of Pictor, or *the Painter*. In the following year, the republic had no consuls, but was governed by two dictators, Q. Fabius and Valerius Corvus. The former marched against the Marfi, who had revolted, and, by one successful action, brought them back to their duty. The latter was created dictator to conduct a war against the Heturians, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, though flushed with the advantage gained a few days before over Sempronius Sophus, his general of the horse, who had fallen into an ambush, and lost a great number of men, and some standards. The Heturians, humbled by this overthrow, sued for peace, but could obtain only a truce for two years. Valerius, on his return, entered Rome in triumph a fourth time, on the tenth of the calends of December *.

The Marfi reduced, and the Heturians defeated.

At the next election, Valerius Corvus was promoted a fifth time to the consulate, and Q. Apulius Pansa appointed to be his colleague. During their administration, all being quiet abroad, two tribunes of the people, of the same family, and probably brothers, endeavoured to inflame the people against the nobility. The one was named Quintus Ogulnius, and the other Cneius Ogulnius. These two complained, that all the pontifices and augurs were created out of the patricians; and urged, that the plebeians might also partake of those offices. The nobility were offended with this proposal, which tended to deprive them of the only distinction between them and the plebeians; but made no great opposition to this new encroachment, knowing that their attempts to exclude them from these dignities would prove fruitless, the people having succeeded in all their struggles with the nobility. The famous Appius Claudius, though devoted to the plebeian party, became, on this occasion, out of pure caprice, a most zealous defender of the nobility. He had debased the senate, by introducing the sons of freedmen into it; and profaned the priesthood, by lodging it in the hands of the public slaves. He now exerted all his eloquence in favour of the nobility; while P. Decius Mus, a plebeian, who had been twice consul, once dictator, and once censor, spoke in behalf of the people, with all the weight and dignity which his employments, his credit, and the reputation of his virtue, gave him. The debate was maintained in the assembly

Yr. of Fl.
2058.
Ante Chr.
290.
U. C. 458.

A law to qualify plebeians for the pontificate and augurate.

* Liv. lib. x. cap. 4. 5.

of the curiæ; but the tribes being afterwards summoned, the affair was almost unanimously determined in favour of the plebeians, and a decree passed for choosing four new pontifices, and five new augurs, out of the plebeians; so that the college of the pontifices was made to consist of eight persons, and that of the augurs of nine. Decius Mus was chosen one of the new pontifices ⁷.

Laws revived in favour of the people.

The Ogulnian law was the work of the two tribunes; but the consul Valerius undertook to revive another law, made by Valerius Poplicola, and afterwards revived by another of his ancestors. By this law it was enacted, that, in capital causes, the accused should have a right of appealing to the tribunal of the people. The patricians had, by their interest, rendered this law ineffectual, and often prevented the execution of it; so that it was become obsolete. Valerius, therefore, now restored it, and drew it up in more distinct terms than before: but the only punishment denounced against the transgressors of it, was, that they should be deemed guilty of a dishonest action ²; a slight punishment, indeed, for a more corrupt age, but sufficient at this time to restrain the Romans, who piqued themselves on their virtue, and were never chosen for great employments, unless they had preserved their reputation pure and untainted.

Nequinum betrayed to the Romans.

The consuls chosen for the new year were M. Fulvius Pætinus and T. Manlius Torquatus. The former marched into Umbria, to carry on the siege of Nequinum, which Apuleius, one of the former consuls, had begun. This city was one of the strongest in Italy. It was built upon the edge of a steep rock, and surrounded in great part by the river Nar. But the treachery of two Nequinians facilitated the reduction of a place, which was deemed impregnable. These traitors, from their houses, which were near the ramparts, dug a passage under-ground, quite to the advanced guard of the Romans, on the side of the town where there were no rocks. The consul, before whom they appeared quite unexpected, detained one of them as a hostage, and sent the other back to the city, through the subterraneous passage, with two Roman soldiers. These, upon their return, made such a report, as increased the confidence of the consul, who ordered three hundred chosen men to follow them, and enlarge the way under-ground. This service they performed accordingly; and having entered the city in the night, seized one of the gates, and let in the rest of the army. The consul

⁷ Liv. lib. x. cap. 6, 7, 8. ² Idem ibid. cap. 9.

having

having by these means made himself master of the city without striking a blow (for the Nequinians immediately threw down their arms), obliged the inhabitants to receive a Roman colony, which might keep the rest of Umbria in awe. This was the only punishment he inflicted upon them. The colony changed the infamous name of Nequinum, derived from *nequitia*, *roguery*, into that of Narnina, from the river Nar. For this exploit Fulvius was honoured with a triumph, which he obtained on the seventh of the calends of October^a.

In the same consulate, the Heturians broke their truce with Rome; but while they were preparing to enter the Roman territories, they were obliged, by an irruption of the Gauls, to suspend the execution of their design. However, their animosity against the republic was so great, that they chose rather to gain over these new enemies by money, than to repel them by force. Accordingly, they paid them large sums, on condition that they should not only forbear pillaging Heturia, but join them against Rome. The Gauls accepted the offers and left Heturia in tranquility; but when they were urged to begin their march towards Rome, they excused themselves, unless the Heturians would secure them a retreat in their country, by assigning them lands to settle. This demand the Heturians absolutely refused. The Romans, being informed of these negotiations between the Heturians and Gauls, ordered the consul Manlius to march into Heturia, to punish the inhabitants for their breach of faith. But Manlius being killed by a fall from his horse, the centuries met to appoint a successor; and all to a man gave their suffrages in favour of Valerius Corvus, who was now the sixth time raised to the consulate. The Heturians no sooner understood that the formidable Valerius was marching against them, than they quitted the field, and retired within the walls of their cities. The brave consul over-ran the whole country, committing every where great devastations, in order to draw the enemy into the field; but they, more concerned for their lives than their estates, kept close within their walls. This was a kind of victory, which brought great glory to Valerius, and was the last of his exploits (U).

Negotiations between the Heturians and Gauls.

Valerius Corvus over-runs Heturia.

Towards

^a Liv. lib. x. cap. 10. Flor. Epit. 89. Frontin. Strat. lib. xi. Fast. Capit.

(U) On his return to Rome, he retired to enjoy the tranquillity of a private life, after so many labours, and so plentiful

The Hetrurians and Samnites renew the war.

Towards the close of this year the republic, whether by the death of Valerius, or some other accident, is unknown, fell into an interregnum. When the comitia were assembled to elect new magistrates, Appius attempted to prevent any plebeian from being chosen to the consulship. But Curius Dentatus, one of the tribunes, withstood the eloquence and authority of Appius, and obliged the senate to confirm the custom of choosing one of the consuls out of the plebeians; so that L. Cornelius Scipio, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, a plebeian, were raised to that dignity. During their administration, the republic was engaged in a war with the two most formidable nations in her neighbourhood, the Hetrurians, who had broken the truce, and the Samnites, who, notwithstanding their treaty of alliance, had openly declared war. Scipio marched against the Hetrurians, who met and engaged him in the plains of Volaterræ. The battle lasted all day, and at night the victory was doubtful. But an unaccountable terror seizing the enemy, they retired, in small companies, to their respective lucumones. The consul then plundered and laid waste the whole country^b (W). A report being spread, before the comitia assembled for electing new consuls, that the Hetrurians and Samnites were

^b Liv. lib. x. cap. 12.

tiful a harvest of glory (1). In what year he ended his days, is not known; but it is certain that he lived above a hundred years. He was twenty-one times promoted to offices that intitled him to sit in the curule chair, which can be said of no Roman but himself. When the republic seemed to forget him, he took advantage of those intervals of rest to improve his paternal estate, and manure his lands. He was great in peace, and greater in war; and may be said to have appeared eminent among those heroes, whom Rome pro-

duced in her most glorious and virtuous age (2).

(W) The Fasti Capitolini ascribe the defeat of the Hetrurians to Fulvius the plebeian consul; and add, that having finished his expedition against the Hetrurians, he hastened into Samnium, and there obtained a complete victory over those ancient enemies of his republic, while his colleague, Scipio, continued inactive at Rome. On his return a triumph was decreed him for having conquered the Samnites and Hetrurians. He triumphed on the ides of November (3).

(1) Liv. lib. x. cap. 11.

Mor. lib. viii. cap. 13.

(3) Fasti Capit.

(2) Plin. lib. vii. cap. 48. Val.

Cic. in Cat. Major. Plut. in Morio.

making

making preparations to repair their losses, the Romans chose consuls of valour and experience, to disappoint the designs of the two nations. The centuries cast their eyes upon Fabius; but he declined the honour; and would not accept of it till he was forced by the people and their tribunes. He then proposed to them Decius Mus for his colleague, who was, at his request, unanimously chosen.

While the two new consuls were preparing to take the field, the Hetrurians came to a resolution to ask a peace. In consequence of their submission both the consuls marched into Samnium, Fabius by the territory of Sora, and Decius through the country of the Sidicini. Fabius was informed on his march, that the Samnites lay in ambush on the banks of the Tifernus, and waited for his coming into a deep valley, with a design to attack him from the hills. This advice did not induce the brave Fabius to change his route: he chose to surprise and attack the enemy in their ambuscade. Accordingly, having lodged the baggage in a safe place, he marched with his troops towards the enemy; who, finding their project discovered, left their ambush, and formed in the plain. Their onset was terrible; they had assembled all the forces of their country, and, looking upon this battle as the decisive stroke, exerted their utmost efforts. The brave resistance of the enemy gave Fabius no small uneasiness. He therefore commanded the cavalry to rush full speed on their battalions. But this charge proved ineffectual; the Samnite infantry keeping their posts, without losing ground. Fabius, finding he could not by force break those impetuous battalions, had recourse to stratagem: he ordered Scipio, one of his lieutenants, to march with the hastati silently round the top of a neighbouring hill, and from thence to fall on the enemy's rear. The consul's orders were executed with such address, that neither the Samnites nor Romans perceived this motion. In the mean time the former, elated with having repulsed the Roman cavalry, resumed new courage, and obliged the first line of the consular army to give way, and retire through the spaces of the second line. Then the principes, who formed that line, engaged in their turn; and, as they were quite fresh, put a stop to the impetuosity of the Samnites. But they were obliged, in the end, to give way.

The Hetrurians sue for peace.

Fabius gains a victory over the Samnites.

When the Samnites thought themselves secure of the victory, they discovered, at a distance, the ensigns of a body of troops, which advanced in good order to the field of battle. This was the detachment commanded by Sci-

*Samnium
laid waste.*

pio, coming down the hill to attack the enemy's rear. The consul, on seeing it, cried out, "What unexpected good fortune! I see my colleague, Decius, hastening to our assistance." The general's words, passing from legion to legion, were soon diffused through the whole army, and heard by the enemy's battalions. The Romans were animated with fresh courage; but the Samnites, tired with fighting, and afraid to engage another consular army, were so discouraged, that, without waiting for their general's orders, they dispersed, and fled in confusion, leaving only three thousand four hundred men dead upon the plain; a very inconsiderable loss. The Romans took twenty-three standards. On the other hand, Decius gained a considerable victory over the Apulians, as they were marching to join the Samnites. After these achievements, the two consular armies entering Samnium, laid the whole country waste. Decius changed his situation forty times, and Fabius occupied eighty-six different camps. By these means the fields were everywhere laid waste, and the country, which had been in a flourishing condition, during a long interval of peace, was utterly ruined. Fabius took also the city of Cimetra, and razed it. Two thousand four hundred prisoners were taken in these expeditions, and all the inhabitants, who were found in arms, put to the sword^c.

The campaign being ended, Fabius was recalled to preside in the comitia for the election of new consuls. Upon his arrival he found, that Appius had once more formed a scheme to exclude the plebeians, and confine the consulate to the patricians. With this view, having secured his own election, he engaged the centuries to continue Fabius in his office for the ensuing year. As the Romans, especially the patricians, had a great esteem and veneration for that able commander, the first centuries, consisting chiefly of the nobility, unanimously voted in his favour. Fabius, however, opposed his own election, protesting that he would never give the republic so pernicious a precedent, as to suffer himself to be elected in the comitia where he presided. The whole body of the patricians surrounded his tribunal, conjuring him to restore the consulate to its ancient lustre. Fabius could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to fall into Appius's scheme; so that Volumnius Flamma, a plebeian, was joined with Appius in the consulate. However, Fabius

^c Liv. lib. x. cap. 13, 14.

and his colleague Decius were continued, with the title of proconsuls, in the command of the armies in Samnium for six months longer; which Fabius spent in keeping in awe the Lucanians, who had revolted, and preventing them from joining the Samnites. Decius, after having laid waste all Samnium, pursued the small army of that unhappy people from place to place, and so harassed them, that they were obliged to disband, and retire into the neighbouring countries. Then Decius, having no enemy in the field to contend with, laid siege to their cities, and made himself master of Murgantia, Romulea, and Ferentinum, three important cities: in the first he made two thousand one hundred and ten prisoners; in the second he put two thousand three hundred of the inhabitants to the sword, and took six thousand; in the third about three thousand men, who defended the place, and made a desperate resistance, were killed upon the ramparts. Thus Samnium was reduced to the last extremity; and, to complete the destruction of this country, the new consul Volumnius entered it with another army of two legions, and fifteen hundred auxiliaries ^d.

Several cities taken from the Samnites.

The Samnites, being thus driven out of their own country, took refuge in Hetruria; where, in a diet held at their request, they prevailed upon the several lucumonies to join in a war against Rome, and offered to serve under them at their own expence. The Hetrurians, looking upon this reinforcement as sent them from heaven, raised a formidable army, and even engaged, with sums of money, some troops of Gauls to join them. The Roman senate, being informed of these motions, dispatched Appius, to whom Hetruria had fallen by lot, to oppose so powerful an enemy with an army consisting of two legions, and twelve thousand auxiliaries. Appius posted himself within reach of the enemy. But, as he neither knew when to engage, nor to choose his ground, he was worsted in every action in which he ventured to engage. These small advantages increased the enemy's confidence, and gave them hopes of victory in a general action. In short, the soldiers distrusted their general, and the general had no confidence in his soldiers. In this extremity, Appius ^e is said to have written to his colleague, begging him to leave Samnium, and hasten to his assistance. Vo-

Appius reduced to great straits in Hetruria.

^d Liv. lib. x. cap. 15, 16.
^e Livio, lib. x. cap. 18.

^e Tres Annales citati a

*Strange
behaviour
of Appius.*

lumninus immediately joined him, to the inexpressible joy of the troops of Appius. But Appius himself, pretending to be surprised, asked his colleague sternly, what had brought him from Samnium; disowned his letter; and told him, that he had acted a dishonourable part in quitting his own province, in order to gain credit by giving assistance to others, who did not want it. Volumnius, thus reprobated, would have returned immediately to Samnium; but the officers of both armies prevailed upon him to stay in Hetruria, where the common cause called for his assistance, and to despise the reproaches and unaccountable behaviour of Appius.

*The two
consuls
quarrel.*

At the request of the officers the two consuls afterwards had an interview in that part of the camp, where the generals used to harangue their soldiers; and there, in the presence of the army, made their complaints of each other. Volumnius, though no orator, spoke on this occasion with great eloquence; for he had the better cause. Appius, who had been his colleague in the consulship ten years before, could not forbear rallying him: "Wonderful, indeed! (said he); I have made a dumb man speak. Volumnius, in our first consulate, scarce opened his mouth for some months. He had then no tongue; but now is become eloquent, a perfect master of oratory. What a miraculous change have I wrought in him!" "Since you have taught me to *speak*, (replied Volumnius), I wish I could, in return for your kindness, teach you to *fight*. In our present situation, it is of small importance to be able to talk well. If you are inclined to know which of us understands best the conduct of an army, we have wars to carry on in two places, Samnium and Hetruria: make your choice; it is indifferent to me in which province I command." At these words the soldiers cried out with one voice, that both consuls should carry on the war in Hetruria. Volumnius answered, that he was willing to stay; but desired the troops to signify to him their inclinations by a general shout. Instantly the army made such acclamations, as were heard in the enemy's camp, who, taking the alarm, formed in order of battle. Volumnius immediately marched out with his troops to engage them. But Appius was for some time in suspense, whether he should join in the battle; and nothing determined him but the fear of being deserted by his troops, who shewed a strong inclination to follow Volumnius, in defiance of their general's orders.

It fell to Volumnius to engage the Hetrurians, and to his colleague to oppose the Samnites, who, full of rage, advanced against him. Emulation for glory, and the shame of being obscured by a rival, roused Appius to such a degree, that he behaved with more courage than could have been expected. He gave his orders like an able commander, fought with intrepidity, inspired his men with ardor, and equalled his colleague in bravery and conduct. The united Samnites and Hetrurians, being unable to withstand two consular armies, were entirely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered. The enemy left seven thousand three hundred men dead upon the field of battle, and two thousand of them were taken prisoners. It must be owned, that if Appius inspired Volumnius with eloquence, Volumnius inspired him with courage. After this victory, which ended the misunderstanding between the two, Volumnius returned into his own province, to oppose the Samnites, who, notwithstanding their late losses, had raised a new army, and were actually ravaging Campania. Volumnius surprised them near the Vulturius, slew six thousand, and recovered all the spoil they had taken ^f.

Appius and Volumnius defeat the Hetrurians and Samnites.

The republic being alarmed, by accounts from Appius, of the preparations for war which the Hetrurians, and their allies the Umbrians, Gauls, and Samnites were making, turned their eyes again upon Fabius; and, in the comitia, which were held soon after, raised him the fifth time to the consulate. The colleague they designed to give him was Volumnius, who presided in the comitia; but Fabius refusing to accept the office, unless he had again Decius for his colleague, Volumnius, though the first tribes had already voted for him, approved of Fabius's request; and, making an eulogium upon Decius, exhorted the tribes to choose him; an advice which they followed accordingly, bestowing that honour upon him the fourth time. Appius, who was then in Hetruria, was appointed prætor; and Volumnius continued in the command of the army in Samnium, with the title of proconsul. It was customary for the new consuls to draw lots for their respective provinces; but it was natural to suppose, that Decius would compliment Fabius with the command in Hetruria, where the stress of the war lay, induced by gratitude, as well as by the age and superior merit of his colleague: but the patricians making it a

The Hetrurians, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls, unite against the republic.

point of honour not to permit any other than Fabius to have the conduct of the Hetrurian war, the plebeians would not consent, unless it fell to him by lot, fearing the patrician consul should, for the future, claim a right of choosing his province. The pacific Decius was compelled, contrary to his temper and inclination, to swim with the current of his party, and insist on its being determined, whether he or Fabius should command in Hetruria. The affair was first brought before the senate, where it was determined in favour of Fabius. Then Decius appealed to the people; and the comitia being assembled, the two competitors pleaded each his own cause more like soldiers than orators. When they had both done speaking, the people began to vote; then Fabius, rising up again, desired them, in a few words, to hear Appius's letters read, before they decided on the present dispute. Appius, in the letters he had lately written from Hetruria, had painted the danger with which the republic was threatened in very lively colours, and given a very particular account of the four armies which were to fall upon Rome &c.

*Fabius sent
against
them.*

The bare relation of the danger determined the people to have recourse to the surest remedy; and Fabius was instantly appointed to command the army in Hetruria. And now all the Roman youth were eager to serve under so great a commander; but he would carry with him no larger a reinforcement than four thousand foot, and six hundred horse. At the head of this small body he marched towards the camp, which the timid Appius was strengthening with new fortifications. As he drew near, he met a detachment sent to cut wood in a neighbouring forest. "Whither are you going, fellow-soldiers?" said Fabius. The soldiers answered, "to cut wood to fortify our camp." "What! (replied the general); is it not already fortified?" "We are already surrounded (returned the soldiers), with a double ditch, and a double rampart; and yet we are still afraid." "Since that is the case (said Fabius), return to the camp, and level the first rampart." The detachment immediately returned, and put their new general's orders in execution; a step which greatly alarmed Appius: but Fabius arrived the same day, to the inexpressible joy of the army. Next day Appius set out for Rome, to take upon him the prætorship. Fabius, instead of confining his soldiers within lines,

which, he said, betrayed fear, kept them in constant motion, by frequent marches and counter-marches; but before he entered upon action, he returned to Rome, for what reason is uncertain. Upon his arrival, the senate, alarmed at the dreadful representation which Appius had made of the enemy's forces, judged it necessary to strengthen him by a second army. Fabius, when this was first proposed to him, told the senators, that he should acquiesce in what they thought proper, on account of the fears of others, not his own; but desired, that, if another general was to be joined with him, Decius might be the person, shewing thereby, that his late contest with him had not lessened the esteem he had for so great a man ^b.

*Desires that
Decius may
be joined
with him.*

The senate and people readily granted his request. The consuls, before they left Rome, made the following regulations: they sent the proconsul, Volumnius, with two legions, into Samnium, and, in order to cover the city on the side of Hetruria, directed two camps to be pitched, one near Rome, on the hill Vaticanus, and the other on the banks of the Tiber, in the country of the Falisci. After these regulations, the consuls set out for the camp in Hetruria. Upon the road they were informed, that a legion, which Fabius had left under the command of Scipio, had been cut off by the Gauls, called Senones. Without being discouraged by this accident, they continued their march: as their army consisted of four legions, a good number of Roman knights, a thousand Campanian horse, and a body of auxiliaries, more numerous than all the Roman forces, they divided it into two parts, and encamped separately, but within reach of each other, in the plain of Sentinum, about four miles from the enemy. We are told, that the forces of the Gauls and Samnites, who encamped together, amounted to one hundred and forty-three thousand three hundred and thirty foot, and forty-six thousand horse. What the number was of Hetrurians and Umbrians, who jointly made another camp, we find no where recorded. As these confederates were separated in their camps, they agreed, that the Gauls and Samnites should engage the Romans, while the Hetrurians and Umbrians attacked their two camps in the heat of the action. Fabius being informed of this design by deserters, immediately sent

*The two
consuls set
out for
Hetruria.*

^b Liv. lib. x. cap. 26, 27.

orders to the two proprætors, Fulvius and Posthumius, who commanded in the camps that covered Rome, to enter Hetruria without delay, and lay it waste. In consequence of this incursion, the Hetrurians and Umbrians hastened to the relief of the unfortunate people whose houses and lands were burnt and ravaged.

*Fabius
brings the
Gauls and
Samnites to
a battle.*

Fabius, having thus obliged the enemy to divide their forces, took advantage of the diversion he had made, and, in the absence of the Hetrurians and Umbrians, brought the Gauls and Samnites to a battle. Fabius commanded the right wing, which faced the Samnites; and Decius conducted the left, which engaged the Gauls. Both parties sustained the first onset with equal bravery, and the resistance of the enemy convinced the Romans, that they could not have withstood the four armies, had they all engaged at once. The advantage first appeared in favour of the Gauls, who surprised the Romans, soon after the action began, with a new way of fighting, never used in the wars of Italy. They drove armed chariots against the Roman cavalry, which, with the noise of the wheels, and the novelty of the fight, frightened the horses, and put them into disorder. They fell, afterwards, on the first line of the infantry, and broke into the ranks, carrying every-where terror and confusion. The consul, Decius, having in vain endeavoured to rally his terrified soldiers, resolved to follow the example of his father, and in the same manner devote himself to the dii manes. Pursuant to this resolution, he commanded the pontifex, M. Livius, to pronounce the words used in devotements; and, having repeated them after him, rode full speed into the thickest of the enemy's battalions, where he was killed, after having received numberless wounds. How great is the power of credulity and superstition! The Romans, after the death of their general, looking upon the enemy as devoted to destruction, resumed new courage, and returned to the charge, in order to put the decrees of the gods in execution. The pontifex, Livius, who was himself an able commander, taking advantage of their prejudices, put himself at their head, crying out, "We have conquered; the death of Decius has secured to us the victory; the Samnites and the Gauls are devoted to the manes, and must inevitably perish." Having thus spoken, he renewed the battle; and, being seconded by some troops, sent by Fabius from the rear, under the command of L. Cornelius and C. Marcius, he soon changed

*Decius de-
votes him-
self.*

changed the fortune of the day in favour of the Romans in the left wing¹.

In the right wing Fabius had attacked the Samnites but faintly, or rather kept himself upon the defensive, till the enemy were exhausted; then, becoming in his turn the aggressor, he ordered his cavalry to wheel about, and flank the wings of the enemy, while he, at the head of the legions, attacked them in front. All the troops being thus put in motion, the shock was so violent, that the Samnites fled in disorder to the camp, and left the Gauls to contend with the Romans. These brave men, not disheartened at the rout of their allies, still kept their ground, and covering their heads with their bucklers, formed a tortoise. Fabius, therefore, to break these impenetrable troops, detached a body of five hundred Campanian horse to fall upon their rear, ordering the principes to follow the detachment, and penetrate into their battalions when once broken. This motion succeeded so well, that the Gauls were, at length, obliged to retire, and leave the Romans masters of the field. Fabius did not pursue them; but led his forces against the camp of the Samnites, where he made a dreadful slaughter. Twenty-five thousand of the Samnites and Gauls were killed in this action, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Among the former was Gellius Egnatius, an eminent commander of the Samnites, who had negotiated the alliance of the four nations. On the side of the Romans, the number of the dead, in the left wing, amounted to seven thousand; but in the right, where Fabius commanded, only twelve hundred were killed. The prætors, Fulvius and Posthumius, gained considerable advantages over the Hetrurians and Umbrians; and the same year the prætor, Volumnius, defeated the Samnites in a battle at the foot of Mount Tifernus. After all these successes Fabius returned to Rome, and triumphed the day before the nones of September. He had scarce left the country, when the Hetrurians raised a new army, which obliged him to lead his troops thither again. Upon his arrival, he attacked the Hetrurians, killed four thousand five hundred of them on the spot, took one thousand seven hundred and forty prisoners, and struck the rest with such terror, that they made no farther attempts that year. This was the last exploit of a hero, whom age disabled from serving his country. He had a son, sur-

Yr. of Fl.
2062.
Ante Chr.
286.
U. C. 462.

The Samnites and Gauls defeated.

¹ Liv. lib. x. cap. 27, 28.

named Gurgès, that is, the Gulf, on account of his excessive intemperance in his youth. After he had squandered away immense sums in debauchery, he corrected his way of living, and became a zealous reformer of manners, in order to wipe off the shame of his past excesses. In his ædileship he accused, before the people, a great number of patrician women of adultery; and, having convicted them, perpetuated the shame of the criminals, by building, with the money accruing from their fines, a temple to Venus, as a lasting monument of their infamy^k.

In the mean time the Samnites, notwithstanding their losses, brought two new armies into the field. With one they encamped on the banks of the Volturnus; with the other they entered Campania, and pillaged the territories of Vescia and Formiæ. These hostilities were no sooner known at Rome, than Appius, the prætor, was ordered into Samnium, at the head of the army which Decius had commanded. The proconsul Volumnius, who was already on the spot, joined his forces to those of Appius; and both these generals, by pursuing the Samnites from place to place, obliged them to unite their two armies in the Campi Stellates, between the Volturnus and the Savo. There the Samnites resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle; and, as they looked upon it as their last stake, behaved with extraordinary courage and resolution: but the Romans prevailed, after having lost two thousand seven hundred men. Of the Samnites there fell in the battle and pursuit sixteen thousand three hundred^l.

The Samnites again defeated;

Rome had now made war with the Samnites for forty years, almost without interruption, and generally with success. That people had lost four battles in one year; the bravest of their generals had been killed; all the flower of their youth cut off; the Hetrurians, Umbrians, and Gauls, whom they had drawn into a confederacy, were not now in a condition to lend them any assistance. However, they were not so far discouraged, as to lose all hopes of being able one day to triumph in their turn.

but take the field anew.

They made great preparations to take the field once more. The senate ordered the two new consuls, L. Posthumius Megellus, who was raised to that dignity a second time, and M. Attilius Regulus, to carry the war jointly into Samnium; but Posthumius being sick, the whole manage-

^k Liv. lib. x. cap. 29, 30. Fast. Capit. Macrob. Sat. lib. ii. cap. 9.

^l Liv. lib. x. cap. 31.

ment of affairs was committed to Attilius, who, hastening into Samnium, met the enemy on the confines of Campania. The consul was no sooner encamped, than the Samnites, though so often vanquished, undertook to execute what the Romans themselves would scarce have attempted; they formed a design of forcing the consul's lines. Marching out of their camp undiscovered, by means of a thick fog, they surprised the advanced guards, made themselves masters of the Decuman gate, and penetrated to the quæstor's tent, where the military chest was kept. In the mean time the alarm spreading to the general's quarters, he put himself at the head of some manipuli, and obliged the enemy to retire by the gate through which they had entered. The Romans would have pursued them; but Attilius, fearing an ambuscade, would not suffer them to march out of their entrenchments. The Samnites, not doubting but fortune would favour their bold attempts another time, encamped close to the Roman lines, and kept the consular army so closely shut up; that they could not enter Samnium to live upon free-quarter there, as they had designed; but were obliged to bring their provisions from the countries behind them, to which alone they had access^m.

Bold attempt of the Samnites.

The senate and people of Rome, alarmed at this disadvantageous situation of the army, dispatched Posthumius, though not yet perfectly recovered, with another consular army, to the assistance of his colleague. Upon his arrival, the Samnites, who were not in a condition to contend with two consular armies, decamped in haste, and left their country a prey to the enemy. On their retreat the two generals separated, to lay waste the whole country. Posthumius, having committed great devastations, made himself master of Milonia and Triventum, two places of great strength. The former was taken by assault, after a vigorous defence, and given up to be plundered by the soldiers; three thousand two hundred Samnites were cut in pieces on the ramparts, and four thousand two hundred made prisoners. Triventum was abandoned by the inhabitants; so that the consul made himself master of it without striking a blowⁿ.

Two of their cities taken.

While Posthumius was thus employed, Attilius marched to the relief of Luceria in Apulia, besieged, as he was told, by the Samnites. On his march he met the enemy, and came to a battle with them, the success of which was

Attilius engages the Samnites.

^m Liv. lib. x. cap. 32, 33.

ⁿ Idem ibid. cap. 33, 34.

The Romans intimidated.

such, that neither army chose to try a second engagement. The Samnites were determined to return home; but as the place where they were encamped was a kind of defile, and the Romans were between them and Samnium, after much deliberation, they resolved to march to the Roman camp, take their route by the side of it, and advance into the plain. The consul no sooner perceived them, than he gave orders to his legions to prepare for battle, not doubting but they were coming to attack him. Attilius now perceived how much the action of the day before had discouraged his troops: his officers told him, that they were ready to obey his orders; but that the soldiers were extremely fatigued and intimidated; and that they would certainly be overcome if attacked. This information gave Attilius great uneasiness: he went in person to visit them in their tents, and endeavoured, by soft words, to rouse their courage; but all to no purpose.

In the mean time the Samnites drawing near, the Romans observed, that they were loaded with stakes and fascines. The consul, now believing they designed to shut him up in his camp, protested that he would march out, and meet the enemy alone; and that, if he were cut in pieces, he should at least escape the mortification of seeing his camp at the mercy of a people so often conquered. His words, and the shame of abandoning their general, induced them at length to stand to their arms; they marched out, though with great reluctance, and very slowly, the battalions not being close, but broken in several places. This motion of the Romans was a great disappointment to the Samnites, who were no less afraid than they, and equally desirous to avoid a battle; but, when they found it was necessary to fight, they acted like brave men, threw down all their baggage in a heap, and placing it in the centre, formed in battalia. When the armies drew near, they shewed so little inclination to fight, that they would have retired without action, had they not feared, that the first which drew off would be attacked in the rear by the other. However, they charged at length, but in a faint manner, and without drawing so near as to come to a close engagement. The Romans soon began to give ground; a circumstance which so encouraged the Samnites, that they now exerted their usual vigour; and, pressing upon the legions, drove them back to their entrenchments, which they would have entered, and left the Samnites masters of the field, had not Attilius ordered a body of horse to advance to the gate of
the

the camp, with directions to kill every Roman who should attempt to enter.

By this expedient the runaways being obliged to return to the charge, rallied, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that the Samnites, who pursued them, were forced to fly in their turn. Thus victory declared for the Romans, after they had lost seven thousand three hundred men. Four thousand eight hundred of the Samnites were killed, and seven thousand taken prisoners, whom the consul compelled to pass under the yoke *. The consul Attilius would have gained but little honour this campaign, had he not repaired his losses by a new advantage; for, on his march homewards, having fallen in with a body of Samnites, loaded with the booty they had made in the country of the Volsci, he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and released many Roman prisoners. After this exploit, he left his army in winter-quarters, and returned to Rome, to preside at the elections. In the mean time Posthumius, uneasy to find nothing to do in Samnium, left that country, without orders from the senate. Marching into Hettruria, where there was more booty, and more glory to be gained, he defeated the Hettrurians, took Ruffellæ, and obliged the three lucumonies of Volsinii, Perugia, and Aretium, to sue for peace. Nevertheless the senate, on his return, refused him a triumph, on account of his irregular proceedings; but he appealed to the people, who decreed him one for his victories over the Samnites and Hettrurians †.

Attilius gains a victory over the Samnites.

The Hettrurians overcome by Posthumius.

In the new consulate of L. Papirius Cursor, son of the famous Papirius, and Sp. Carvilius, Samnium became again the seat of war. That martial nation resolved to make a new and more vigorous effort than ever. They published a law, commanding all who were of age to bear arms, to appear upon the first summons from the general of their nation, upon pain of death. The heads of those who disobeyed this law were devoted to Jupiter, and it was lawful for any one to kill them. The general rendezvous was appointed in the neighbourhood of Aquilonia, a city of Hirpinia, whither fear brought all the youth of the country, to the number of forty thousand and upwards. In order to inspire them with courage, the heads of the nation obliged sixteen thousand of the bravest men among them to take the following oath, which was administered to them with great solemnity: "May all

The Samnites raise a new army.

* Liv. lib. x. cap. 35, 36.

† Idem ibid. cap. 37. Fast. Capit.

the curses of the gods fall upon me and my posterity, if I do not follow my generals wherever they shall lead me, if I ever turn my back, or do not kill those whom I shall see attempting to fly!" Those who hesitated at loading themselves and their posterity with such imprecations, were stabbed, and their bodies thrown among the carcases of the many victims that were sacrificed on that occasion. Those who took the oath were called *legio linteata*, or the *linen legion*, because they had bound themselves by it under a canopy or covering of linen. Magnificent bucklers were given them; and, that they might be distinguished in an engagement, their helmets were adorned with stately crests¹.

*Carvilius
enters
Samnium.*

The consul Carvilius having left Rome, and put himself at the head of the army Attilius had commanded, took his way towards Samnium, which he entered without opposition, the enemy not having yet finished their preparations. His first exploit was the reduction of Amiternum, a city in Sabinia, subject to the Samnites, where he cut in pieces two thousand eight hundred men, and made four thousand two hundred and seventy prisoners. Papirius, having hastened his levies in Rome, took the field, made himself master of Furconia, in the neighbourhood of Amiternum, and then joined his colleague. After they had laid waste that part of the Volscian territory which was subject to the Samnites, they parted again; Carvilius turning off towards Cominium, on the confines of the eastern part of Samnium, with a design to besiege it; and Papirius marching towards Aquilonia, the place of the enemy's general rendezvous. The latter encamped within sight of the enemy, and tried their strength and courage in some slight skirmishes, before he proceeded to a general action. At length he resolved to venture a battle, and therefore sent an express to his colleague, desiring him to press the siege of Cominium, lest the enemy should send detachments from thence to reinforce their army near Aquilonia. He then assembled his troops, and so animated them by his speech, that they all cried out, they were ready to follow him whithersoever he should lead them. From the general to the meanest soldier, all were eager to engage; they were only uneasy to see the battle deferred till next day. Even the augur, whose business it was to observe the presages, chose rather to make

*Eagerness
of the Ro-
mans to
fight.*

a false report, than to check this general ardour † (X). In the beginning of the action the linen legion, which lay under the most sacred engagements not to give way, made a most gallant resistance, and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Romans, kept their ground, till all on a sudden they discovered, at some distance, a cloud of dust, such as is raised by the marching of an army, but was now occasioned by the servants and muleteers of the Roman camp, whom the consul had mounted upon beasts of burden, ordering them to appear in the heat of the action, and raise as great a cloud of dust as possible. Papi-rius, though the author of the stratagem, seemed to be surpris- ed at this new sight. As the servants of the army had provided themselves with branches of trees, which

† Liv. lib. x. cap. 39, 40.

(X) It was then customary to judge of the success of battles beforehand, by the haste or slowness with which the sacred chickens picked up their food. The augur observed, that the chickens fed but slowly, which was a bad omen; but as the ministers of religion are not always the most scrupulous, or the most credulous, the augur, depending more on the ardour of the soldiers, than the greediness of his chickens, declared, that they had fed greedily. Papi-rius heard the augury with joy, and immediately ordered his men to prepare for battle; but the next day, when the army was ready to march out and engage, the report being spread among the troops, that the presages were not favourable, the Roman knights, thinking it a matter of such importance as ought to be communicated to the general, prevailed upon young Papi-rius, the consul's nephew, to discover to him the error he was in concerning the au- guries. "Be of good cou- rage, (answered the general), and behave yourself in the ac- tion like a brave man. If the augur has made me a false re- port, he has drawn the ven- geance of the gods upon him- self by his irreligion. As for me, I conclude the augury to be favourable, since it was so declared." Thus spoke Papi-rius, and then ordered the un- faithful keeper of the sacred chickens to be placed at the head of the first line, where he was killed by an unknown hand, before the two armies came to a close engagement. He was probably killed by or- der of the consul, who, pre- tending to look upon his death as a stroke from heaven, cried out, when the news was brought him, "The ven- geance of the gods has spent itself on the person who de- served it. We have nothing more to fear from their an- ger (1)."

(1) Liv. lib. x. cap. 40,

*The Sam-
nites totally de-
feated.*

they trailed on the ground to raise the greater dust, nothing could be seen but the tops of some standards and lances, and something like cavalry, which seemed to flank a body of infantry. While both armies were under no small apprehension of this fresh body of troops, Papirius all on a sudden cried out with an air of joy, "Cominium is taken, and my colleague is coming to my assistance. Courage, fellow-soldiers; let us gain the victory ourselves, before another army comes to share with us the glory and the spoils." At these words, both the infantry and cavalry fell with new vigour on the linen legion, which was at length obliged to give way, their fear of the enemy, who had penetrated into the midst of their battalions, not suffering them to attend to any other apprehensions. Their example was followed by the rest of the Samnite army; their foot in the left wing retired to Aquilonia, and those in the right regained the camp; but their horse fled to Bovianum, a city a great way from the field of battle. Twelve thousand of the Samnites, according to Orosius, were slain in this battle; but, according to Livy, above thirty thousand. Their camp was taken, and soon after the city of Aquilonia, where most of the fugitives had taken shelter.

*Cominium
taken, with
many other
cities.*

In the mean time Carvilius made himself master of the strong and important city of Cominium. The besieged, after having made a vigorous defence, were at length obliged to surrender, to the number of fifteen thousand four hundred, after four thousand three hundred and eighty had been slain in the attacks. Then the two consuls joined their forces, to complete the destruction of the Samnites, who had no army to oppose them. Their scheme being approved by the senate, Carvilius took Volturna, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum, all cities of great note. Papirius made himself master of Sepinum, a town situated at the foot of the Apennines, and deemed impregnable. But the Hetrurians taking arms again, it was thought necessary to recall one of the consuls with his army from Samnium. They were accordingly ordered to cast lots for the conduct of the Hetrurian war, which fell to Carvilius, who thereupon hastened to Rome, which he entered in triumph, and thence continued his march into Hetruria, where he took Trosulum by assault, and obliged the Falisci to sue for peace; granting them only a year's truce, for which he made them pay three hundred and

*The Falisci
sue for a
peace.*

• Liv. lib. x. cap. 41. Front. Strat. Val. Max. lib. vii. cap. 22. Oros. lib. vi.

ninety thousand ascs of brass. After this transaction he returned to Rome. Papirius arrived about the same time from Samnium, and obtained a triumph, the chief ornaments of which were the spoils taken from the Samnites, especially from the linen legion (Y).

In the next election of consuls, the persons chosen by the centuries were Fabius Gurgcs, the son of Fabius Maximus, and Junius Brutus, surnamed Scæva, of an illustrious, though plebeian family. It is undoubted, that Fabius the father, who was then prince of the senate, opposed the promotion of his son. Perhaps he did not think him qualified for so high a station, or was induced, as Valerius Maximus is of opinion †, by a republican principle, judging it a pernicious precedent to confer so many honours on one family; for he had been five times consul, and his father and grandfather had been likewise promoted to that dignity. Junius Brutus, the other consul, was no better qualified for the consulate than his colleague; so that now the government of the republic was in the hands of two persons of small abilities, especially for war; which was at this time a very impolitic choice. They had scarce entered upon their office, when the Falisci in Hetruria, encouraged by a plague which raged in Rome, broke their truce; and the old enemies of Rome, the Samnites, taking arms again, entered Campania. The consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, Hetruria fell to Brutus, and Samnium to Fabius. The former, assisted by Carvilius, whom the republic appointed to be his lieutenant, over-ran Hetruria, defeated the Falisci, and returned to Rome, loaded with spoils; while Fabius, having rashly attacked the Samnites, was put to flight, after he had lost three thousand men in the action. The number of the

Fabius Maximus opposes the promotion of his son to the consulate.

The consul Fabius Gurgcs defeated by the Samnites.

† Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 1.

(Y) Papirius, on his return to Rome, dedicated a temple to Quirinus, which his father, when dictator, had vowed. Upon this temple was fixed a sun-dial, the first that had ever been seen at Rome. The Romans, for some ages, marked only the rising and setting of the sun; afterwards they observed the hour of noon, but in a very gross manner. When

the sun shone between the rostra and the house appointed for the reception of ambassadors, one of the consul's heralds used to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid-day: but now they could mark the several hours of the day; and the water-clock, invented soon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night.

Y 3

wounded

*Fabius
Maximus
serves un-
der his son,*

*and defeats
them.*

wounded was greater, and most of them died for want of attendance, the consul having left the servants of the army, and the baggage, a great way behind him ^a. The news of an action so ill conducted, exasperated the people and senate to such a degree, that the consul was recalled, and would have been deposed, had not his father spoken in his behalf, with all the dignity of a man of his age, merit, and employments, and even offered to serve under his son the remainder of the campaign, in quality of his lieutenant. This offer was immediately accepted, and Fabius set out with his son for Samnium; which they had scarce entered, when they were met by the enemy, who offered them battle. The Samnites, whom no adverse fortune could discourage, made their first onset with such vigour, that the Romans could scarce withstand them. Pontius Herennius, their general, elated with his first victory, made incredible efforts to gain a second. On the other hand the consul, to wipe off the shame of his late defeat, fought as a private soldier in the first line; but Pontius, having broken through the troop which covered young Fabius, endeavoured to surround him on all sides; the father perceiving his situation, threw himself into the midst of the enemy's battalions, and, by his example, animated the legions to exert themselves with such vigour, that Gurgus was rescued, and the enemy routed. Twenty thousand of the enemy were slain, and four thousand taken prisoners. Among the latter was Pontius himself, who had done in this fatal engagement all that could be expected from an experienced commander, and gallant soldier. Rome would have been more sensibly affected with this victory at any other time; but the plague, which made a dreadful havock of her citizens, much damped her joy. To appease the wrath of the gods, recourse was had to the usual remedy, superstition. The Sibylline books were consulted, and there it was read, that, to put a stop to the plague, the god Æsculapius should be brought to Rome from Epidaurus, a city of Peloponnesus, where he was worshipped under the figure of a serpent. An embassy was accordingly appointed for that purpose ^v.

The consular year being almost expired, and the two consuls employed in carrying on the war in their respective provinces, a dictator was appointed to supply their

^a Flor. Epit. lib. xi. Eutrop. lib. ii. Zonar. lib. viii. ^v Liv. lib. x. cap. 47. Orof. lib. viii. cap. 42. Zonar. lib. viii. Flor. Epit. xi.

room; but his nomination proving defective, the republic fell into an interregnum, when L. Posthumius, one of the magistrates named to govern the state till the new election, held the comitia, and, by his intrigues, got himself elected the third time. His colleague was Junius Brutus, surnamed Bubulcus. Posthumius, a man of a haughty, enterprising, and untractable temper, assumed to himself the command of the war in Samnium, without drawing lots with his colleague, or waiting for a decree of the senate in his favour. About this time the god *Æsculapius*, who had been expected a whole year, arrived from Epidaurus, to the great joy of the people; and the plague is said to have ceased soon after * (Z). The two con-

Æsculapius brought to Rome.

* Dion. Hal. in Excerpt. Val. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. Plut. in Quæst. Rom.

(Z) *Æsculapius* had a temple in Epidaurus; and the priests, who presided over the worship of this new god, bred one of those snakes, which were easily tamed, and taught to follow any persons where they pleased. This snake the vulgar honoured as the god himself. His usual hole was under the feet of the fine stone statue of *Æsculapius*, which the famous sculptor Thrasymedes of Paros had made; and, whenever he came out of it, his appearance was understood to presage the cure of the sick person. The Roman envoys were brought into the temple; and it is probable that the Epidaurians made them pay dear for the relief they desired, their reputation and interest being then very small in Greece. However that be, the Epidaurians suffered them to carry away the snake, which drew all the people in the neighbourhood into the city. The joy the Romans shewed, upon the arrival of this salutary god, is not to be expressed,

Altars were erected all along the banks of the Tiber, and numberless sacrifices offered. The Romans designed to receive him within their walls, and there build him a temple; but the god is said to have chosen his own abode in the midst of the Tiber, on an island formed in the infancy of the republic, by straw, trunks of trees, sand, and the rubbish of the city. Thither the serpent retired, gently swimming through the water. From that time it was called the island of *Æsculapius*, and a temple was soon erected to him there, and enriched with numberless presents. It was built in the shape of a ship, the higher part of it resembling the stern, and the lower the prow. The temple of the god of health was much frequented by the common people at Rome. The sick came and passed the night in it; and either imagination, or the strength of nature, sometimes wrought cures there, which were ascribed to the power of the god. Those who

*Posthumius
assumes the
conduct of
the war in
Samnium.*

*Takes Co-
minium
and Venu-
sium.*

consuls set out for their respective provinces, Brutus for Hetruria, and Posthumius for Samnium. The former performed nothing which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. In Samnium the two Fabii gained great advantages, and were actually employed at the siege of Cominium, which the Samnites had rebuilt, when Posthumius arrived with a new consular army. Fabius Gurges had been continued in the command of the army, in quality of proconsul; but, nevertheless, Posthumius sent him orders to desist from the siege, and leave that enterprize to him. Fabius had recourse to the senate, acquainting the conscript fathers with the orders he had received from the consul. The senate immediately dispatched a messenger to Posthumius, enjoining him to bend his forces another way, and not disturb Fabius in the enterprize he was carrying on; but Posthumius, without paying any regard to the authority of the senate, gave their messenger this haughty answer: "Tell the conscript fathers, that it is their duty to obey their consul, and not his to submit to their commands." He then marched towards Cominium, resolving to give the Fabii battle, if they did not yield to his obstinate humour. Young Fabius, being warranted by the authority of the senate, was for withstanding the rash aggressor; but his father prevailed upon him, for the sake of the public good, to give way to his imperious rival. Then Posthumius pressed Cominium with such vigour, that he made himself master of it in a few days. From thence he turned his arms against Venusium, an important place on the confines of Apulia, Lucania, and Samnium, and subjected it to the Romans. He then gave the senate an account of his conquest, which, he hoped, would have reconciled the conscript fathers to him, and made them forget his disobedience. He proposed, that a colony

recovered, sacrificed to the god, by way of thanksgiving, a cock; for this fowl was sacred to Æsculapius, and a symbol of the vigilance which is necessary for the cure of the diseases. It was in allusion to this, that Socrates, when condemned to die, and thereby delivered from all the evils and distempers attending this life,* ordered a cock to be sacrificed to Æsculapius. There were some remains of the temple of Æsculapius to be seen in the sixteenth century, near the church of St. Bartholomew, in the island of the Tiber (1):

(1) Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. Val. Max. lib. i. cap. 8. Ovid. Metamorph. lib. xv. Plin. lib. xix. cap. 1.

might be sent to Venusium, to keep the neighbouring provinces in awe. His proposal was approved, but occasion taken from it to mortify him, and make him sensible, that the senate preferred obedience to valour. It was customary for the conqueror of a city to be one of the triumviri sent thither to settle a colony; but, in the case of Venusium, the senate, without any regard to Posthumius, named three others, allowing him no share in that honour. Nor was this all: to humble the proud Posthumius yet more, they granted a triumph to young Fabius, his rival, who entered Rome on the calends of the month Sextilis. The brave Pontius, famous for having surprised the Roman legions, and made them pass under the yoke at the Caudine Forks, followed the chariot of the conqueror, and, by an act of inhumanity unworthy of a civilized nation, was condemned to lose his head. While young Fabius rode in his triumphal chariot, his father followed him on horseback. He had formerly, in his first triumphs, carried his son in his chariot with him; and was now overjoyed to march after him, to mingle in the crowd, and to hear the acclamations of the people, and the songs of the soldiers, in praise of the triumphant victor: however, the spectators did him justice, saying, that the son was honoured with a triumph, but that the father deserved it *v*.

*Pontius
put to
death at
Rome.*

*Fabius
triumphs.*

Posthumius, seeing his rival thus honoured, and himself treated with so much contempt, employed bitter invectives against the senate, and invented a new kind of revenge, which was, to distribute among his soldiers all the booty he had taken in the two conquered cities, without lodging any part of it in the public treasury. He then, resentfully disbanded his troops before his successor could arrive. His colleague Brutus presided in the comitia, when P. Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus were chosen. Posthumius was no sooner out of office, than he was brought to a trial before the comitia by tribes. Before he left Rome, he had employed a detachment of his troops in grubbing up a forest on his own estate. His accusation chiefly turned on his employing, in so mean an office, men of free condition, who owed no service but to the public. As this crime offended the people more than his disobedience to the senate, they condemned him to pay a considerable fine *z*.

*Posthumius
fined by
the people.*

v Liv. Epit. xi. Fast. Capit. Plut. in Fab. & Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 7. *z* Dion: Hal. in Excerpt. Valesii. Liv. Epit. xi.

The war with the Samnites had already furnished the Roman generals with twenty-four triumphs; but had cost the conquerors a great deal of blood, many fatigues, and vast expences; so that the republic was tired of engaging the same enemy. In order, therefore, to put an end to this tedious war, both consuls were ordered into Samnium, where they acted separately; each, at the head of a consular army, ravaged the country, took several cities, gained some battles, and at length obliged that gallant nation, which, after the loss of their brave general and able governor Pontius, was no longer in a condition to oppose the progress of their arms, to sue for peace. The republic readily consented to enter into an alliance with them for the fourth time; but left the settling of the articles to Curius Dentatus, a man of great probity, and who, without any vanity or ostentation, lived in that voluntary poverty, which the philosophers of those times recommended. The Samnite deputies found him sitting on a wooden seat near the fire, dressing his own dinner, which consisted of a few roots, and offered him a large sum of money; but Curius expressed his indignation with a disdainful smile. "Without doubt (said he), my poverty inspires you with hopes of corrupting me; but your attempts are vain. I had rather command the rich, than be rich myself. Carry back with you this fatal metal, which men make use of only for their destruction; and tell your countrymen, that they will find it as difficult to corrupt as to conquer me." The conditions Curius imposed upon them are not known; but it is probable they were no ways favourable to that warlike and restless nation. The treaty was no sooner concluded than the consul returned to Rome, where he triumphed, to the inexpressible joy of the people, who found themselves disburdened of a war which had lasted forty-nine years, and given the republic more trouble than their wars with all the other states of Italy together.

Yr. of Fl.
3067.
Ante Chr.
287.
U. C. 467.

*An alliance
with the
Samnites.*

*The Sa-
bines re-
duced.*

The conquest of Samnium drew after it the entire reduction of the Sabines, whose confederacy with Rome was as ancient as the city itself; but notwithstanding their alliance with the republic, they had joined the Samnites. Curius subjected the whole country; but as they were old allies, the weight of the yoke was lessened, and the right of Roman citizenship bestowed upon them, without the right of suffrage. For the conquest of the

* Plut. in Apophth. Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 3. Plin. ib. ix. cap. 6. Auct. de Vir. Illust.

Sabines, Curius had a second triumph decreed the same year, an honour which no general had ever enjoyed. As Curius was by birth a plebeian, some patricians attempted to cast a stain upon his reputation, accusing him of appropriating to himself part of the spoils taken from the enemy. As the proofs were not clear, Curius was put to his oath; and then he confessed, that he had kept a little wooden oil-vessel for making libations to the gods; but protested, that he had reserved nothing more. Such was the character of his disinterestedness, that he was believed, the malice of his accusers serving only to heighten the lustre of his virtue ^b.

In the following consulate of M. Valerius Corvinus, and Q. Cædicius Noctua, Curius Dentatus was sent into Lucania, in quality of proconsul, to assist the Thurini against the Lucanians, who had invaded their territory. In this expedition, being attended with his usual success, he defeated the Lucanians, and obliged them to retire. The two consuls spent their whole year in works of peace, and in sending colonies to the conquered cities; namely, to Adria, a maritime town, said to have given name to the Adriatic sea; to Castrum in Picenum; and to Sena, another city on the Adriatic, at the mouth of the Seno, in the country of the Senones. As men were grown more vicious, and the number of malefactors daily increased, three new judges were appointed to relieve the prætor, and try criminals. The punishments these judges could inflict were confined to pecuniary fines; nevertheless they were styled triumviri capitales, because the care of the prisons, where the greatest criminals were kept, was committed to them, and they had the direction of their execution. These new magistrates were chosen annually in the comitia by tribes; and from their sentence lay no appeal. The time of this general peace was also thought a proper season to take a census of the Roman people, by which it appeared, that the number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms amounted to two hundred and seventy-three thousand ^c.

The Lucanians defeated.

Triumviri capitales.

The fruit of this new peace abroad was trouble and dissension at home. The people, oppressed by the usuries of the rich citizens, revived a quarrel, which had begun near two hundred years before. They kept themselves at first within bounds, only demanding, that some abuses

The debtors murmur against the usurers.

^b Flor. in Epit. xi. Auct. de Illust. Viris. Epit. xi. Fest. Pomp. lib. xvii.

^c Liv.

should

*The cruelty
of a credi-
tor to his
debtor.*

should be reformed with respect to contracts, whereby creditors exacted an immoderate interest for money lent. But in the course of the ensuing year, when Q. Marcius Tremulus, and P. Cornelius Arvina were consuls a second time, an accident drove them to extremities : T. Veturius, one of those consuls who had been surpris'd in the Caudine Forks, died insolvent ; and his son, who had been educated with great care, and formed to virtue, borrowed a considerable sum of one C. Plotius, to defray the expence of his father's funeral. Plotius, who had also lent great sums to the father, soon after press'd the son to pay both his father's debts, and that which he himself had lately contracted. Young Veturius, having neither money nor credit, was forced to submit to slavery, and work for his creditor, till he had discharged the whole debt. He bore his servitude with great constancy, and made it his study to please his creditor in every thing, till that infamous wretch solicited him to gratify a brutal passion he had conceived. Veturius rejected the shameful addresses of Plotius, with the utmost indignation. His constancy was immoveable, though his cruel master treated him most unmercifully for his virtuous resistance. One day, being covered all over with blood, and torn with stripes, he made his escape out of the house, appeared in the forum, where he shew'd the people the marks of his barbarous creditor's cruelty, and discovered the infamy of his tyrant. The people seized this opportunity to decry the usurers, and to demand the abolition of the law, which impower'd them to reduce insolvent debtors to slavery. This inhuman law had been annulled before on a similar occasion ; but the patricians had, by their authority and interest, revived it. As for the execrable Plotius, the tribunes, accusing him before the assembled centuries, he was condemned to death.

*Secession of
the people.*

The plebeians, not content with this victory, insisted on the abolition of the above mentioned law. The patricians oppos'd it to the utmost of their power : " This is robbing us, (said they) of our security for what we have lent. Debts must be paid, according to the old law, either in body or goods." The people, finding the patricians obstinate and inflexible, had recourse to an expedient which had always proved effectual. They left the city, and posted themselves on the hill Janiculus, with the Tiber between them and their prosecutors. By this removal of the people, the city being left destitute of artificers and labourers, and no provision being brought
thither

thither from the country (for the country people had likewise their complaints), the patricians and rich citizens found themselves obliged to humour the multitude. The consuls, therefore, of this year, M. Claudius Marcellus, and C. Nautius Rutilus, were ordered to name a dictator, in order to appease the revolted populace. The person they named was Q. Hortensius, who, entering into a treaty with the separatists, made them the following concessions; that the law in question should be repealed; and that two other laws, which had been formerly made, but no-way regarded by the patricians, should be strictly observed for the future. These imported, that the decrees made by the tribes should be equally observed both by the patricians and plebeians; and that all laws should first pass in the senate, and be afterwards brought to the comitia, to be there approved or rejected. The country people complained, that justice was not administered at Rome on market-days; and that, when any causes were depending, they were forced to leave their work and return to the city again. This grievance was removed. The dictator promised, that market-days should no longer be vacation-days for the judges, that the husbandmen might have their causes heard before they went home.

Q. Hortensius dictator.

Terms of reconciliation.

When these articles were drawn up, and the people's minds began to be calmed, Q. Hortensius died. It being, therefore, necessary to nominate another dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus was nominated to that dignity, who chose for his general of the horse a famous plebeian, named Volumnus Flamma. By the interposition of these two great men, the work which Hortensius had begun was soon accomplished; and the people having attained to the highest pitch of their desires, returned to the city. The balance of power leaned now rather to their side. The nobility had no other advantage over them than that of great riches, and the respect naturally paid to persons of high birth^d. The peace of the city being therefore no more interrupted by intestine contests, we shall see the republic increase her dominions abroad with incredible rapidity. The great Fabius died soon after he had happily accomplished the accommodation. In his life-time he had been looked upon as a prodigy of valour, wisdom, and virtue; and upon his death the people contributed to the expence of his obsequies with so much generosity, that his

Fabius Maximus dictator.

^d Flor. Epit. xi. Zonar. Ann. lib. viii. Valer. Max. lib. vi. cap. 11. Dion. Hal. in Excerpt. Val.

son, with the victims offered at his funeral, gave a public entertainment to the whole city^e. It is probable, that after the reconciliation of the dictator, Fabius presided at the election of the new consuls, M. Valerius Potitus and C. Ælius Pætus, whose year proved barren of remarkable events; as did also the next, when C. Claudius Canina and M. Æmilius Lepidus were consuls. In the following consulate of C. Servilius Tucca and L. Cæcilius Metellus, the Tarentines, jealous of the prosperity of the Romans, and apprehending that they aimed at the conquest of all Italy, raised up both old and new enemies against the republic, and engaged her in one of the most formidable wars she had ever sustained.

Yr. of Fl.

2073.

Ante Chr.

275.

U.C. 473.

Tarentum was a city of Great Greece, which comprehended the greatest part of the south coast of Italy. Most of the cities in this large province had been founded by Greeks, who brought thither with them the Greek language, customs, and manners. The Tarentines in particular were a colony of Spartans, who, settling on the continent of Italy, under the conduct of one Phalantus, made themselves masters of a city, first called *Æbalia*, and afterwards Tarentum, from one Taras, or, as others will have it, Tarentus, who is said to have increased and beautified the city, after the Greeks were masters of it. These transplanted Spartans soon forgot the severe discipline of Sparta, and plunged themselves into all the debaucheries with which the rest of the Greeks were reproached. Their whole life was spent in feasts, sports, and public entertainments. Buffoons and prostitutes governed the state, and often determined the most important affairs by a joke, or an indecent gesture. They bore a mortal hatred to the Romans, and dreaded their dominion, not so much out of fear of losing their liberty, as of being disturbed by that warlike and rough people in the pursuit of their pleasures. They, therefore, employed all the Grecian subtlety to draw such a number of enemies upon them, as still to keep them at a distance from their territories, and this without appearing to be concerned.

At the same time the Senones, having raised a formidable army, marched into *Hetruria*, with a design to besiege *Aretium*, a city about forty leagues from Rome, at a small distance from the *Arnus*. The Aretines had immediately recourse to the Romans, who, they knew, would never suffer the Gauls to make conquests in *Hetruria*,

^e Liv. *ibid.* Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 9. *Auct. de Vir. Illust.* Cic. in Orat. pro Plancio,

and thereby open themselves a way to Rome. The republic, alarmed at the least motion of so powerful an enemy, dispatched the Consul, Lucius Cæcilius, with an army, to the assistance of the Aretini; but, before any act of hostility, a deputation was sent to the Senones, to dissuade them from their design. The proud Gauls, instead of listening to the mediation of Rome, killed the deputies, and brought their troops before Aretium. In consequence of this outrage the consul advanced with his army, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he was killed, with seven legionary tribunes, the most part of the Roman knights, and thirteen thousand private men. Upon the news of this dreadful overthrow, the famous Curius Dentatus was ordered with fresh troops into Hetruria, to supply the place of the consul Cæcilius; but that wise commander, instead of marching to the relief of Aretium, and engaging the enemy, flushed with their late victory, took his route along the confines of Hetruria, and, entering the country of the Senones, in the absence of their best troops, ravaged it without opposition. He plundered and burnt their houses, laid waste their fields, put all those to the sword who were able to bear arms, carried the women and children into captivity, and, in short, reduced the whole country to a vast desert, in which scarce remained any appearance of its having ever been cultivated or inhabited^f. Thus he took ample revenge for the murder of the Roman ambassadors.

The Senones kill the deputies of Rome, and defeat the Roman army.

Curius Dentatus lays their country waste.

Next year, in the beginning of the administration of the new consuls, P. Cornelius Dolabella, and Cn. Domitius Calvinus, the Boii, the Hetrurians, and the Samnites, once more declared against the republic, excited by the intrigues of the Tarentines; but, notwithstanding this great confederacy, the senate and people reposed so much confidence in the new consuls, that they did not think of creating a dictator, as was usual in times of great danger. Nor was their confidence ill grounded; for Domitius taking the field, and meeting the Senones, who had raised the siege of Aretium, and were marching to Rome, to revenge the devastations made in their country, he gave them a total overthrow. Only a small number of them escaped, and saved themselves in the country of the Boii, whom they pressed to take arms immediately, and revenge the common cause of the Gauls. Accordingly the Boii, having raised all the men in their territory

The Senones defeated;

^f Polyb. lib. ii. Dio. apud Ful. Urbinum.

*and also
the Boii
and He-
trurians.*

who were able to bear arms, and being reinforced by a great body of Hetrurians, pursued the attempt, which the Senones had begun, and marched towards Rome; but the consul, Cornelius, who waited for them on the banks of the lake Vademonis, in Hetruria, now Il Lago di Bassano, engaged them, killed almost all the Hetrurians, and the greater part of the Boii. The latter made some faint efforts against the Romans the next year; but being defeated, they were forced to sue for peace. As for the Senones, they were so utterly destroyed, that there scarce remained any footsteps in Italy of a nation, which had distinguished itself so much by the taking of Rome ^g.

*All Italy in
arms a-
gainst the
Romans.*

In the following consulate of C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus, almost all Italy rose in arms against the imperious republic; but Fabricius, being sent into Lucania, defeated the confederate forces of the Lucanians, Brutians, and Samnites, and made himself master of their camp. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy, with their general Stalilius, were slain. The Romans, imagining that the god Mars had fought in person for them, returned him solemn thanks for his assistance by public supplications ^h. As for the Tarentines, though they were the real authors of this war, they had not yet appeared in the field, nor openly declared against Rome; but an accident induced them at length to throw off the mask, and brought on, after a long series of events, their utter ruin. Valerius, or, as others call him, Cornelius, one of the maritime duumviri, or admirals of the Roman fleet, happened to come to the mouth of their harbour with ten ships, while the idle inhabitants of the city were assembled, as usual, in the theatre, which looked towards the harbour. The Tarentines imagining that Rome, having discovered their secret plots, had sent that fleet to punish them, they, without hesitation, ran down to the port, attacked the Roman fleet with the fury of madmen, sunk one ship, and took four; the other five escaping. All the prisoners fit to bear arms were put to the sword, and the others sold for slaves to the best bidder. The Romans, being informed of this unexpected act of hostility, sent a deputation to Tarentum to demand satisfaction for the insult offered to the republic; but the Tarentines insulted the ambassadors in the most outrageous manner. They admitted them to an audience in the theatre, where Posthumius Megellus, who

*and insult
their am-
bassadors.*

^g Appian. apud Ful. Ursin.

^h Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. 6. Am-
mian. Marcell. lib. xxiv. Dion. Hal. in Legat.

was at the head of the embassy, and had been thrice consul, harangued the assembly in Greek. His advanced age, his personal merit, and, above all, the character of an ambassador from a powerful people, ought to have gained him respect; but the Tarentines, heated with wine, not only gave little attention to his discourse, but burst into laughter, and hissed him, whenever he dropped an improper expression, or pronounced a word with a foreign accent. When he began to speak of reparation of injuries, they flew into a rage, and rather drove, than dissuaded him out of the assembly.

As he walked off with an air of gravity and dignity, which he preserved, notwithstanding this brutal reception, a buffoon, named Philonides, coming up to him, urined upon his robe; a new source of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude, who applauded the outrageous insolence. Posthumius, turning about to the assembly, shewed them the skirt of his garment so defiled; but when he found that this insult increased the loudness of their contumelious mirth, he said, without the least emotion, "Laugh on, Tarentines, laugh on; the time is coming when you will weep. It is not a little blood that will purify this garment." He withdrew, and embarked for Rome. When the Tarentines began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, and at the same time on the inability of their neighbours to defend them against so powerful a republic, they cast their eyes upon Pyrrhus king of Epirus, whose reputation for valour, and long experience in war, had gained him the reputation of one of the heroes of Greece. They therefore dispatched ambassadors to him, but rather to sound his disposition, than to enter, without farther deliberation, into any engagements with him. As Pyrrhus loved action, and the bustle and hurry of war, the ambassadors found him in a disposition to listen to any proposal which would furnish employment worthy of his ambitionⁱ.

In the mean time the Tarentines, to amuse the Romans till the return of their ambassadors from Epirus, besieged Thurium, which was defended by a Roman garrison, and made themselves masters of it. This intelligence was brought to Rome soon after the return of Posthumius, and the other ambassadors, who had been so ill-treated at Tarentum. The new consuls therefore, L. Æmilius Barbula, and Q. Marcius Philippus, having assembled the senate,

ⁱ Dion. Hal. in Legat. Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. 2. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 2. Flor. Epit. xii. Plut. in Pyrrho.

*Send an
embassy to
Pyrrhus
king of
Epirus.*

*They take
Thurium.*

*War a-
gainst the
Tarentines
resolved
on.*

laid before them the situation of the affairs of the republic, and the shameful indignity which had been offered the ambassadors. It was dangerous to engage in a new war, when the republic had so many nations to contend with. The Hetrurians were still in arms; the Samnites had declared anew against the republic; and the Lucanians and Brutians were grown more confident since the taking of Thurium. The hostilities committed by the Tarentines, and the insult offered to Posthumius, whose robe was produced in the senate, left no room to deliberate, whether they should enter into a war with that people. They were all unanimous as to the necessity of chastising them; but whether it was adviseable for the republic to shew her resentment immediately, was doubted. Some of the senators were for declaring war forthwith; others for deferring it, till the provinces bordering on the Tarentine territories were subdued. Never was debate more tedious, or more perplexing. The same question was discussed, and warmly debated, from sun-rising to sun-set, for several days together. At length the opinion of those who were for beginning the war immediately, prevailed; and the decree of the senate being confirmed by the people, orders were dispatched to the consul Æmilius, who was on his march into Samnium, to lay aside that expedition, and turn his arms against Tarentum.

*They in-
vite Pyr-
rhus into
Italy.*

The Tarentines, upon the approach of a consular army, carried on their deliberations with more seriousness; and when the consul sent again to demand satisfaction before he began hostilities, the better sort of citizens declared for peace. Æmilius offered them moderate terms; and, after all, it was but equitable, that they should repair the injuries, and wipe off the reproach, they had thrown on the Romans without any provocation; but the populace, who had nothing to lose, insisted on a war; and their clamours prevailed over the just reasons of the wisest men in the commonwealth. The proposal of bringing Pyrrhus into Italy was revived, and a decree passed for inviting that prince to Tarentum. One Meton, a citizen of good sense, and no way infected with the general corruption which prevailed in the city, endeavoured to divert his countrymen from this mad design (A), but was thrust out

(A) Meton, on the day that a public decree was to pass for inviting Pyrrhus to Tarentum, and when the people were all

placed in the theatre, putting a withered garland on his head, and having a flambeau in his hand, as was the manner of the

out of the assembly. Ambassadors were immediately dispatched into Epirus, not only in the name of the Tarentines, but of all the Greek colonies in Italy, with magnificent presents for the king, and with instructions to acquaint him, that they only wanted a general of fame and experience; and that, as for troops, they could themselves furnish a numerous army of twenty thousand horse, and three hundred and fifty thousand foot, consisting of Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines. As soon as the news of this deputation were brought to the Roman camp, Æmilius, who had hitherto made war on the Tarentines gently, in hopes of adjusting matters by way of negotiation, began to commit all sorts of hostilities. He took cities, stormed castles, and laid the whole country waste. The Tarentines brought their army into the field; but Æmilius soon obliged them to take refuge within their walls. However, to induce them to lay aside the design of receiving Pyrrhus, he used the prisoners he had taken with great moderation, and even sent them back without ransom. These extolled the generosity of the consul; insomuch that many of the inhabitants were brought over to the Roman party; and they all began to repent of their having rejected a peace, and sent for Pyrrhus^k.

^k Oros. lib. iv. & Zon. lib. viii.

the drunken debauchees, came dancing into the midst of the assembly, accompanied by a woman playing on the flute. This silly sight was sufficient to divert the Tarentines from their most important deliberations. They made a ring, and called out to Meton to sing, and to the woman to play; but when they, expecting to be entertained with a song, were all silent, the wise citizen, assuming an air of great seriousness, "You do well, Tarentines (said he), not to hinder those from diverting themselves, who are disposed to mirth; and if you are wise,

you will take advantage of the present liberty to do the same. When Pyrrhus comes, you must change your way of life; your mirth and joy will be at an end." These words made an impression upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had spoken well; but those who had some reason to fear that they should be delivered up to the Romans, in case of an accommodation, being enraged at what he had said, reviled the assembly for suffering themselves to be so mocked and affronted; and, crowding together, thrust Meton out of the assembly (1).

(1) Plut. in Pyrrho.

*Cyneas ar-
rives at
Tarentum;*

*and takes
possession of
the citadel.*

In the mean time the Tarentine ambassadors arriving in Epirus, pursuant to the powers they had received, made a treaty with the king, who immediately sent before him the famous Cyneas, with three thousand men, to take possession of the citadel of Tarentum. This minister, whose character we have given in our history of Epirus, soon found means to depose Agis, whom the Tarentines had chosen to be their general, and the governor of the city, though a sincere friend to the Romans. He likewise prevailed upon the Tarentines to deliver up the citadel into his hands; which he no sooner got possession of, than he dispatched messengers to Pyrrhus, soliciting him to hasten his departure for Italy. In the mean time Æmilius, finding that he could not attempt any thing with success against the Tarentines this campaign, resolved to put his troops into winter-quarters in Apulia, which was not far from the territory of Tarentum. In passing through certain defiles, with the sea on one side, and high hills on the other, he was attacked by the Tarentines and Epirots from great numbers of barks mounted with ballistæ, and from the hills, on which were posted a great many archers and slingers. Æmilius, thus attacked, placed the Tarentine prisoners between him and the enemy; a disposition which the Tarentines perceiving, soon ceased to molest the Romans, from compassion to their own countrymen; so that the consul arrived safe in Apulia. He forthwith repaired to Rome, where his colleague Marcius had a triumph on the calends of April, for having vanquished the Hetrurians¹.

Next year P. Valerius Lævinus, and Tib. Coruncanius, were chosen consuls. The latter was raised to the consulate purely for his merit; for he was of a mean descent, not even a Roman by birth, but a native of Camerium, a Roman municipium in Latium. It fell to his lot to carry on the war in Hetruria, and to his colleague's to conduct that against the Tarentines. Æmilius, who had acted against the Tarentines the last year, was continued in the command of his own troops with the title of proconsul, and ordered to make war upon the Salentines, who had declared for the Tarentines. The present exigence of affairs obliged the Romans to enlist the proletarii, who were the meanest of the people, and therefore, by way of contempt, called proletarii, as being thought incapable of doing the state any other service than that of peo-

¹ Fast. Capit. Frontin. in Stratag. Zonar. lib. viii.

pling the city, and stocking the republic with subjects. Hitherto they had never been suffered to bear arms, but were now, to their great satisfaction, enrolled as well as others. In the mean time Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, having narrowly escaped shipwreck; and, being conducted into the city, was received with loud acclamations. Thus began the memorable war between the Romans and that famous commander, the first foreigner they had to contend with. It was carried on with great vigour on both sides, for the space of six years; during which time the following consuls were at the head of the Roman armies; the first year, P. Valerius Lævinus and T. Coruncanius; the second, P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius Mus, whose father and grandfather were both famous for their devotements; the third, C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius, two men of the most distinguished merit; the fourth, Cornelius Ruffinus and C. Junius Brutus; the former a man extremely covetous and self-interested, but nevertheless promoted by the interest of Fabricius, because he was a much abler commander than any of his competitors; the fifth, Q. Fabius Gurges and C. Genucius; and lastly the sixth, the famous Curius Dentatus, and L. Cornelius Lentulus. But as, in our history of Epirus, we have given a very particular account of this war, and the events which attended it, from the landing of Pyrrhus in Italy, to his return into his own dominions, we shall here only relate what happened after the latter period, referring the reader for an account of the war to that history.

Pyrrhus having thought it advisable to leave Italy, after the last battle, in which he was defeated by Curius Dentatus, with the loss of twenty-three thousand men, the victor returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph, it being the most magnificent one that had ever yet been seen; great quantities of rich spoil, vessels of gold, purple carpets, statues, pictures, and, in short, all the embellishments of Greek cities, were carried before him. Among the captives were Epirots, Thessalians, and Macedonians, not to mention the Lucanians, Brutians, Tarentines, and individuals of other Greek nations. The appearance and dress of so many foreigners, afforded the spectators great pleasure; but nothing so much raised their admiration as the elephants, with towers on their backs, animals which had never before been seen in Rome. As for the triumphant victor, he rode in a chariot, and the acclamations the people gave him were very sincere.

Yr. of Pl.

2077.

Ante Chr.

271.

U. C. 477.

*Arrival of
Pyrrhus.*

Yr. of Pl.

2083.

Ante Chr.

265.

U. C. 483.

*Triumph of
Curius,*

and of his
colleague
Lentulus.

The senate empowered him to appropriate to himself fifty acres of the conquered lands; but he declined this favour, saying, that he ought to be looked upon as a dangerous subject, who could not live upon the produce of seven acres. Of all the spoils, he reserved only a little vessel of beech for his domestic sacrifices. This magnificent triumph of Curius was followed by that of his colleague Lentulus, who had made a successful campaign in Lucania, and taken from the Samnites the famous city of Caudium. This happy consulate ended with a census, and a lustrum. The virtuous Fabricius, and his constant colleague Æmilius Papus being censors, they made a new list of senators, and struck out the names of all those who led dissolute lives; nay, Cornelius Rufinus, who had been consul and dictator, was excluded, only for having ten pounds weight of silver in plate. By the census there appeared to be in Rome two hundred and seventy-one thousand two hundred and twenty-four citizens fit to bear arms ^m.

The Tar-
rentines
defeated by
Claudius
Carina.

The Romans, apprehending that the king of Epirus would soon appear in Italy again with a more numerous army than ever, continued Curius Dentatus in the consulate for the next year, giving him for his colleague Cornelius Merenda. In the mean time the Tarentines being apprised, that Pyrrhus, under pretence of going to fetch new supplies, had entirely deserted them, obliged Milo, whom the king had left in the city with a strong garrison, to confine himself to the citadel. These divisions made Curius believe, that the Tarentines and Epirots would destroy each other. In this belief he neglected to besiege Tarentum, and turned his arms against the Samnites and Lucanians, who retired for refuge to their mountains; but they appeared again in the field next year, when C. Fabius Dorso, and C. Claudius Corina were consuls. The latter defeated them, once at least, in a pitched battle; for we read in the Fasti Capitolini, that Claudius Carina triumphed over the Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians, on the day of the Quirinalia, or the festival of Romulus, that is, on the seventeenth day of February.

Ambassa-
dors from
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus.

And now the reputation of the Romans having extended into foreign countries, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent ambassadors to congratulate the republic on her success, and to ask the friendship of the

Roman people. The Romans, not to be outdone in civility, sent four ambassadors to Egypt, chosen, with the utmost circumspection, by a senate studious to preserve the reputation they had acquired. Fabius Gurgus was at the head of this embassy; and with him were joined three curule ædiles, two of them brothers of the Fabian family, and the third Q. Ogulnius. Their reception was equal to their merit, and worthy of so magnificent a prince. The particulars we have recounted in the history of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Next year the Romans, still under the apprehensions that Pyrrhus would return once more into Italy, raised to the consulate two great men, who had already borne that office, and commanded, with great reputation, the armies of the republic. These were L. Papirius Cursor, and Sp. Corvilius, surnamed Maximus. These generals had scarce entered Samnium with two armies, when a certain account came of the death of Pyrrhus. This intelligence threw the Samnites into despair; they now looked upon their liberty as lost, and, like men in that unhappy situation, put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were entirely defeated. Thus ended this bloody war, which had lasted seventy-two years, and procured the Roman generals thirty-one triumphs. After the entire reduction of Samnium, the Lucanians and Brutians submitted; so that only Tarentum remained unpunished; which the consuls soon invested. There was a kind of civil war between Milo in the citadel, and the Tarentines in the city; and the latter, as it is thought, had implored the assistance of the Carthaginians, who lay with a fleet before the town, pretending to have no design but against the Epirots and the citadel. The Romans attacked the city, taking care to prevent the Carthaginians from reducing the citadel. With this view Papirius privately signified to Milo, that if he would surrender the citadel, he and his garrison should be safely transported, with all their baggage and effects, into Epirus. Milo listened to this offer, and undertook to put the city, as well as the citadel, into the consul's hands. He assembled the Tarentines, and prevailed upon them to depute him to the consul, promising to make such advantageous terms for them, that they should neither lose their lives nor their effects. Milo performed his promise; for Papirius, in order to hinder the Carthaginians from getting any footing in Italy, promised him all he asked. The Romans, being soon after admitted into the city, did no violence to the inhabitants.

Yr. of Fl.
2086.
Ante Chr.
262.
U. C. 486.

The Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians subdued.

*Tarentum
surrenders.*

The Carthaginians, when they found themselves disappointed, retired. The Tarentines were all disarmed, their ships taken from them, their city dismantled, and made tributary to Rome.

*Perfidious
conduct of
a Campanian legion.*

The Sabines, Volsci, Campanians, Hetrurians, and Samnites, being now utterly subdued, the republic was at leisure to wipe off the dishonour thrown upon her by a Campanian legion, soon after the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy. While that prince was at Tarentum, and the Carthaginians infested all the Ionian Sea, the inhabitants of Rhegium, situated in the southern extremity of Italy, near Sicily, applied for a Roman garrison to defend them from an invasion. A legion was raised in Campania for that purpose, and sent under the command of Decius Jubellus. These foldiers, having been used to a laborious life, began soon to envy the inhabitants the pleasures and ease in which they lived; and it was not long before they formed and executed a scheme to make those advantages their own. They forged letters from the Rhegians to Pyrrhus, importing an offer to put the place into his hands; under this pretence they massacred all the chief men of the city at a banquet; and then, assaulting the rest, either put them to the sword, or drove them out of the place. As for the women, they obliged them to marry the murderers of their fathers and husbands.

*The republic
resolves
to take
vengeance
of their
perfidy.*

These news were brought to Rome at a time when the affairs of the republic would not allow her to punish the perfidious legion; but having now no enemy to fear, as soon as the new consuls, C. Quinctius Claudius and L. Genucius Clepsina, entered upon their office, the latter was ordered to turn his arms against Rhegium. The usurpers not only called to their assistance the Mamertines, who were originally Campanians, and had acted the same part at Messina, as we have related in the history of Sicily, but opened an asylum for all the profligate wretches of the country, who flocked to the city in great crowds from the neighbouring countries. The Campanians, thus reinforced, made a vigorous defence, and resisted, till provisions beginning to fail in the camp of the Romans, Genucius was obliged to have recourse to Hiero, king of Syracuse, who, by supplying him not only with the corn he wanted, but with a reinforcement of some Sicilian troops, enabled him at last to make himself master of the place. Of about four thousand men, of which the guilty legion

had at first consisted, only three hundred remained alive, the rest having been killed in the several attacks made upon the city. These, as the Campanians enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizens, were sent prisoners to Rome to be tried in that capital. The senate condemned them to be beaten with rods, and then beheaded; but, in order to prevent a mutiny, which so bloody an execution might raise among the populace, the criminals were put to death on different days, in the forum, by fifty at a time. By these means Rome cleared herself of the suspicion of having sent the Rhegians succours with no other view than to seize their city. Such of the inhabitants as had escaped the cruelty of the Campanian legion, were, by a decree of the senate, reinstated in the possession of their estates, liberties, and laws.

All who remain of the legion put to death.

In the following year C. Genucius and Cn. Cornelius were raised to the consulate. The former gained a victory over the Sarcinates, a people of Umbria, and was on that account honoured with a triumph. The succeeding consuls, Q. Ogulnius Gallus, and C. Fabius Pictor, were sent against Lollius, a Samnite, who, having made his escape from Rome, where he was kept as a hostage, had seized a strong place in Samnium, and, being joined by the Caricini, a people of that country, laid the neighbouring provinces under contribution. The consuls besieged the city of the Caricini, which made so vigorous a resistance, that they were very near failing in the enterprise; however, being privately admitted into the city by some deserters, they made themselves masters of it, but not without the loss of many legionaries. Under the same consuls the Romans, who had hitherto used no money in commerce, except pieces of brass, stamped with the figures of a bull, a ram, and a boar, began to coin silver, and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the mint was the temple of Juno Moneta, and hence came the word money.

The Sarcinates defeated.

Yr. of FL.
489.
Ante Chr.
259.
U. C. 489.

Silver money coined at Rome.

The following consuls, P. Sempronius Sophus, and Appius Claudius Crassus, son to the famous Appius Claudius, entered Picenum jointly; but new commotions in Umbria obliging them to separate, Appius entered that country; and, having made himself master of Camerinum, sold all the inhabitants for slaves, contrary to his agreement, depositing the money accruing from the sale in the public treasury, and seized all their lands. But the senate

* Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 2. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 3. v. Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 3. Suidas in voce *Moneta*.

had too much equity to authorise so wicked a fraud; they caused all those unhappy wretches to be carefully sought out, allowed them the privileges of Roman citizens, granted them a place upon Mount Aventine for their habitation, and allotted to each of them as much land in property as they had lost in Umbria¹.

*Picenum
conquered.*

In the mean time the other consul, Sempronius Sophus, carried on the war against the Picentes with great success. He gained a complete victory over them, which, however, cost him very dear; for he lost the greater part of his troops in the action. Asculum, the capital of Picenum, submitted to the conqueror, and the whole nation gave themselves up to Rome; a great increase of power to the republic, this country alone being able to supply her armies with three hundred and sixty thousand men. The Romans, the better to secure the new conquests, and keep the conquered nations in awe, sent out two colonies, one to Ariminum in the country of the Picentes, and another to Beneventum in that of the Samnites. This same year the Sabines, who had hitherto enjoyed no other privilege but that of being incorporated in the legions instead of serving as auxiliaries, were admitted to the right of suffrage in the city².

The consuls of the following year, L. Julius Libo and M. Attilius Regulus, began a war with the Salentines. Their pretence was, that this nation had favoured the descent of Pyrrhus, and espoused the cause of the Tarentines; a pretence invented by the ambitious republic to rob her neighbours of their liberty. The chief cities of the Salentines were Hydruntum, Aletium, and Brundisium. This last port was what the Romans chiefly coveted. It was so advantageously situated, that, by being masters of it, they knew they should be in a condition to contend with the nations beyond sea, and to carry war into Africa, Asia, and Greece. The Salentines disputed their country inch by inch; and though Attilius Regulus took Brundisium, yet neither he, nor his colleague, had the glory of subduing that gallant nation. Their successors, Numerius Fabius and Junius Pera, took Aletium and Hydruntum, with other cities; and, by those conquests, obliged the Salentines to submit. The same campaign they subdued the Sarcinates in Umbria; and, on their return to Rome, were honoured each with two tri-

Yr. of Fl.
2092.
Ante Chr.
256.
U. C. 492.

¹ Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 5.
lib. i. cap. 19.

² Vell. Paterc. lib. i. Flor.

umphs, for the reduction of two nations; a thing unheard of before in the republic.

Rome was now mistress of all the countries in Italy, from the remotest part of Hetruria to the Ionian Sea, and from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Adriatic. But these nations did not all enjoy the same privileges; some were entirely subject to Rome, and had no laws but what they received from thence; others retained their old laws and customs, but in subjection to the republic; some were tributary, and others allies, obliged to furnish the Roman army with troops, and maintain them at their own expence. Some enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizenship; their soldiers were incorporated in the legions: others had likewise a right of suffrage in the elections made by the centuries in the Campus Martius. Those different degrees of honour, privileges, and liberty, were founded on the different terms granted to the conquered upon their surrender, and were afterwards encreased, according to their fidelity, and the services they did the republic.

Extent of the Roman dominions.

The fame of the Roman name being, after this great encrease of power and dominion, spread into foreign countries, their friendship was courted by free cities, and whole nations on the other side the sea. Apollonia, situated over-against Brundisium, was the first city of Macedon that sent ambassadors to desire the protection of Rome. These were kindly received by the senate; but, upon some occasion not mentioned in history, insulted by Fabricius and Apronius, two young patricians, at this time ædiles. The republic would not suffer this breach of the law of nations to pass unpunished; they were both tried, and their sentence imported, that they should be put into the hands of the Apollonians, carried into Macedon, and there punished at the pleasure of the people, whom they had offended in the persons of their ambassadors. The republic obliged the offenders to abdicate the ædileship, before they set out from Rome; and left the ambassadors should be insulted on the road by the friends and relations of Fabricius and Apronius, they were conducted to Brundisium, together with the prisoners, by a detachment of troops under the command of a quæstor. The Apollonians were deeply affected by this mark of regard. The prisoners were hospitably received, and then sent back to Rome. This event gave rise to a law, which

The Apollonians court the friendship of the republic.

lasted as long as the republic; whereby it was enacted, that if any citizen, of what quality soever, insulted an ambassador, he should be delivered up to the injured nation^t.

*Provincial
quæstors
created.*

The republic now enjoying profound tranquillity both at home and abroad, the new consuls, Q. Fabius Gurgès and L. Mammilius Vitulus, applied themselves to the regulation of the public revenues. These arose from the tributes each nation paid; from the rents of certain arable and pasture lands, which the republic reserved, as her demesnes, whenever she distributed any conquered lands among citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands, which were dependent upon her; and lastly, from the imposts upon all merchandize imported into her dominions. The four quæstors, already appointed to receive and pay the public monies, were not sufficient to manage the business, even before the late conquests. It being therefore, absolutely necessary to augment the number of these officers, four new ones were created, with the title of provincial quæstors, to take charge of the four provinces, into which the republic had divided her conquests (B).

It

^t Flor. in Epit. xv. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 6. Dig. Parag. de Legat.

(B) The quæstor of the first province resided at Ostia, and his quæstorship reached from the springs of the Tiber and the Arnus to the mouth of the Liris, and comprehended Hetruria, Latium, Sabinia, Umbria, and in short all the coasts of the Tuscan Sea, and all the lands between that sea and the Apennines. The quæstor of the second province resided at Capua in Campania, and had under his jurisdiction all the country between the Liris and the Gulf of Tarentum; that is, Campania, Samnium, Lucania, the country of the Brutii, and Cnотria. The third province reached from the Apennines to the shore of the Adriatic Sea, and was called the Gallic quæstorship. It

contained the countries formerly conquered by the Gauls, especially the Senones, from the Rubicon to the Ælis, and also Picenum, the country of the Frentani, and all the other countries as far as Apulia. The fourth quæstorship, of which we have not so distinct an account as of the other three, could only comprise Apulia, Calabria, and the territories of the Salentines, Messapians, and Tarentines. For these four provinces Rome created four new quæstors; and it was then settled, that all the eight quæstors should for the future be chosen in the comitia by tribes. After the elections, which were renewed every year, the eight quæstors drew lots in the presence of the

It was often the fate of the Romans to be afflicted with domestic misfortunes, when they were not engaged in any war; and this was the case at present: a contagion broke out, which made a dreadful havock both in the city and country. Recourse being had to the Sibylline books, according to custom, it was supposed to be there found, that some secret crimes had drawn down the wrath of heaven upon the republic. A Vestal, named Caparania, was found, upon diligent enquiry, guilty of incontinence, and condemned to be buried alive without the gate Collina. The guilty Vestal, to avoid so cruel a death, strangled herself; but the same ceremonies of interment were performed over the dead body, as if she had been living.

Rome afflicted with a plague.

While the two consuls, Fabius Gurgus and Mammilius Vitulus, were employed in works of peace, an unexpected war sprung up in the very bowels of the republic. Volsinii, one of the capital cities of the twelve Hetrurian lucumonies, had been allowed by the Romans to enjoy her ancient laws and form of government; but as the inhabitants no longer considered themselves as a free and independent people, they despised the public offices, and suffered their freedmen to usurp them, giving themselves wholly up to their pleasures. These freedmen became, by degrees, tyrants in that little republic, and made it their whole business to humble their old masters. They took away their wives by force, and carried their insolence and licentiousness so far, that they passed a law, that no virgin, daughter of a man free-born, should be married to a husband of the like condition, till she had submitted to the passion of a freedman. To these indignities they added the banishments and proscriptions of the most worthy citizens. The Volsinienses, despairing of being able to redress their grievances by their own in-

A war with the freedmen of Volsinii.

the people, to decide who should have the Roman, who the military, and who the provincial quæstorships. The military quæstors attended the consuls in their expeditions, kept the military chest, paid the troops, and sold the prisoners and spoils taken from the enemy. The Roman quæstors superintended the

public treasury. The provincial quæstorships were desired by the ambitious, before Rome had extended her conquests beyond Italy; but little coveted after the republic had brought the East and West under subjection, and great kingdoms were become so many provinces under her dominion.

*The consul
Fabius
Gurgus
killed.*

*Volturni
taken, and
raised.*

ternal strength, sent deputies to Rome, to implore the assistance of the republic. The deputies set out privately, and carried on their negotiations with great secrecy; but, nevertheless, the freedmen, getting notice of the whole, put them to death at their return; and when the consul Fabius, who was sent against them with a small army of volunteers, appeared before their city, they even ventured to face him in the field, and give him battle. Fabius defeated them; but as he entered the town with the runaways, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand. Thus fell a great man, who had been honoured with triumphs, embassies, and three consulates, and who, contrary to the expectation of the great Fabius, his father, did no way degenerate from the virtue of his ancestors. The consul was no sooner carried out of the crowd, than the freedmen fell upon the Romans with such fury, that they obliged them to retire. Then Decius Mus, lieutenant to Fabius, invested Volturni, and began to besiege it in form; but it was not taken till the arrival of M. Fulvius Flaccus, one of the consuls for the next year, who forced the freedmen to surrender at discretion, and put all those, who had acted any part in this scene of villainy, to death. The ancient citizens, and those who had not been concerned in the revolt, were transplanted to another place, and their city raised. This conduct of Flaccus was so agreeable to the republic, that she granted him the honours of a triumph. He entered Rome in state, on the calends of February, in the year succeeding this, which was the year of his consulate^a. We have anticipated this latter part of the history, to avoid blending an affair of so little importance with the great events that are to follow.

^a Flor. lib. i. cap. 27. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 27. Zon. lib. viii. Auct. de Viris Illustr.

C H A P. XL.

The History of Rome, from the first Carthaginian War to the second.

S E C T. I.

From the Commencement of the first Carthaginian War, to the Death of the Consul Regulus.

THE Carthaginians, when the war first broke out between their republic and that of Rome, were possessed of extensive dominions in Africa; had made considerable acquisitions in Spain; were masters of Sardinia, Corsica, and all the islands on the coasts of Italy; and had extended their conquests to a great part of Sicily. The Mamertines, of whom we have spoken at length in the history of Sicily, being vanquished in battle; and reduced to great straits by Hiero, king of Syracuse, had resolved to deliver up Messana, the only city which they now possessed, to that prince, with whose mild government, and strict probity, they were well acquainted. Accordingly, Hiero was advancing to take possession of that important place, when Hannibal, who at that time commanded the Carthaginian army in Sicily, prevented him by a stratagem. The artful African met Hiero, in appearance to congratulate him on his victory; and amused him, while some of the Carthaginian troops filed off towards Messana. The Mamertines, seeing their city supported by a new reinforcement, were divided in their opinions. Some were for accepting the protection of Carthage; others were still for surrendering to the king of Syracuse; but the greater part were for calling the Romans to the assistance of a city, whose inhabitants were originally Italians. The arrival of their deputies at Rome occasioned debates in the senate; but in the end they came into the measures of the people, who, from the beginning, were bent upon driving the Carthaginians out of Messana.

*Occasion
of the first
rupture
between
Rome and
Carthage.*

It was decreed, that Appius Claudius, surnamed Caudex, who was then consul with M. Fulvius Flaccus, should be sent into Sicily, to attempt the deliverance of Messana. Of his gallant behaviour, and the success that attended

attended him; of the signal victory he gained over Hiero, king of Syracuse; of the progress of the Roman arms, under the consuls Manius Valerius and Manius Otacilius, his successors, and the alliance concluded between them and king Hiero, we have spoken in the history of Sicily, to which we refer the reader.

The Romans reduce several places in Sicily.

The Romans having, after this alliance, no enemies to contend with but the Carthaginians, and being supplied with all manner of provisions by Hiero, now their friend and ally, made themselves masters of all the places on the western coast of Sicily. The inhabitants of Segesta and Aliena massacred the African garrison, and opened their gates to the consuls. The cities of Hilara, Tyrita, and Asclea, were taken by assault, and treated with great rigour. The campaign being ended, the consuls led back most of the troops, and putting them into winter-quarters on the coast of Italy, returned to Rome, where Valerius was decreed a triumph, and honoured with the surname of Messala. This year Cn. Fulvius Centumalus was created dictator, who chose Q. Marcius Philippus for his general of the horse. But their only business was to drive a nail into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, to stop a plague which raged at Rome *.

Both consuls ordered into Sicily.

The new consuls, L. Posthumius Megellus and Q. Mamilius Vitulus, were ordered to pass over into Sicily. The republic, depending on the alliance of king Hiero, thought it advisable to lessen the number of troops in that service, and therefore appointed them two legions only. They set out from Rome, and, embarking at Rhegium, landed at Messina, without meeting with any opposition. They no sooner landed, than they assembled the reinforcements they were to receive in that country, and marched to Agrigentum, which the Carthaginians had made their magazine of arms and provisions. The place was strong by nature, and had been rendered almost impregnable by the new works with which the Carthaginians had secured it during the winter, with a view to make it their place of refuge, in case of any miscarriage or disaster. It was defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Hannibal, a general of known valour and great experience in war. However, the Romans encamped before the place, blocking it up on all sides. As it was then harvest-time, and the fruitful fields of Sicily

They besiege Agrigentum;

* Polyb. lib. i. cap. 10, 11. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 9. Frontin. Stratag. lib. iv. cap. 1. Tac. Triumph. Senec. de Brevit. Vit. cap. 13.

were covered with corn, the consuls gave their soldiers leave to reap it in small parties, in order to provide against the wants which usually attend long sieges. Hannibal resolved to take advantage of this breach of military discipline, and made two sallies at the same time; one upon the reapers, and the other upon the Roman camp. The reapers were overpowered by the Carthaginians, and for the most part cut in pieces. But the Romans in the camp repulsed the enemy with great slaughter, and pursued them to the very gates of the city. After this action, the Carthaginians were more cautious in their sallies, and the consuls took care not to suffer their men to forage in small parties. The Carthaginians making no more sallies, the Romans thought it adviseable to divide their army into two bodies; with one they encamped near the temple of *Æsculapius*, at some distance from the city, while the other took post on the road to *Heraclea*; and lines of circumvallation and contravallation were formed to secure them against sallies from within, and attacks from without.

The Romans were plentifully supplied with all necessities from *Erbesa*, a city not far from *Agrigentum*, whither they were brought from all parts of *Sicily*, and safely conveyed from thence to the camps. Thus they continued before the place five months, hoping to reduce it by famine. As there were no fewer than fifty thousand souls in *Agrigentum*, the city was reduced to great difficulties. But Hannibal supported their courage with promises; and from time to time dispatched, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Romans, messengers to *Carthage*, to solicit speedy succours. The Carthaginians having made levies in *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, embarked, under the command of *Hanno*, fifty thousand chosen foot, six thousand horse, and sixty elephants, ordering them to sail to *Sicily*, and attempt the relief of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno*, without loss of time, set sail, and, landing his forces at *Lilybæum*, marched from thence to *Heraclea*, within twenty miles of *Agrigentum*. There he received a deputation from some of the inhabitants of *Erbesa*, where the Romans had their magazines, offering to put the town into his hands. The Carthaginian, overjoyed at this message, marched with all his forces to *Erbesa*, which was accordingly delivered up to him; so that the Romans, who had been hitherto the besiegers, were now besieged: all their convoys being intercepted, they were reduced to such difficulties, that they often deliberated about raising the siege; and would have certainly abandoned

An army sent from Carthage to relieve Agrigentum.

The Roman magazines betrayed to the Carthaginians.

done the enterprize, had not Hiero supplied them to the best of his power ; but notwithstanding all his efforts, they laboured under a grievous dearth, and this produced a distemper which daily swept off great numbers. In the mean time Agrigentum being reduced to the utmost extremity by famine, Hannibal found means to acquaint Hanno with the deplorable condition of the place, who thereupon resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, thinking himself a match for the Romans, who were greatly weakened by sickness and fatigue.

The Romans receive a check.

Accordingly, having imparted his design to Hannibal, and ordered him to make a sally the moment the Romans appeared in the plain, he marched with all his troops from Heraclea, sending his Numidian horse before, with orders to advance to the entrenchments of the Romans, as if they designed to force them ; but, in case the Romans made a sally, they were to retire towards the army. These orders were punctually executed. The Roman cavalry attacking the Numidians, and pursuing them too far, were surrounded by the whole army, and either taken or cut in pieces. Notwithstanding this advantage, Hanno, posting himself on Mount Taurus, about a mile and a half from the Romans, continued there two months, without shewing any inclination to come to a decisive action. At length Hannibal giving him notice, as well by signals from the town as by expresses, that the garrison could no longer hold out, and that they deserted by companies to the Romans, Hanno was forced to venture an engagement, to which the Romans were equally disposed. Both armies formed in a large plain between the two camps, and engaged with incredible fury. The success continued doubtful, till the mercenaries, who were in the vanguard of the Carthaginian army, fled. In their flight they fell in among the elephants, which they put into disorder, and by these means entirely broke the line that sustained the rear. By this accident, the whole army being discomposed, the Carthaginians fled in a disorderly manner, the Romans pursuing them with great slaughter. Hannibal attempted to make a sally, and bring his forces to the assistance of Hanno ; but was repulsed by the troops which the consuls had posted at all the avenues to the city, and obliged to return after he had lost a great number of men. In this battle the Romans took eleven elephants, wounded three, and killed thirty. As to the number of men killed in the action and pursuit, it is not exactly known. The enemy, after the defeat, retired to Heraclea, which they reached

The Carthaginian army defeated.

reached with great difficulty, the plain being all covered with dead bodies *.

Hannibal perceiving that the Romans, after the fatigues of so glorious a day, were less upon their guard, marched out at midnight with the greatest part of his troops, and, filling up the Roman trenches, made his escape, and retired, with his forces, to a place of safety. The Agrigentines, to revenge themselves for being thus abandoned, and, at the same time to make their court to the consuls, massacred the Carthaginians who were left in the city. But such cruelties not being agreeable to the Romans, the consuls gave up the city, after it had surrendered at discretion, to be plundered; and above twenty-five thousand persons of free condition were made slaves. Such was the success of a siege, which had lasted seven months, and was the most remarkable and difficult the Romans had ever yet undertaken. The conquest was both important and glorious: the besiegers are said to have lost, in the battle, and in the frequent skirmishes, by famine and other hardships, about thirty thousand men, Romans and allies. The campaign being ended with the reduction of Agrigentum, the consuls returned to Messina and from thence to Rome.

Hannibal escapes with the greatest part of his troops.

The conquest of Agrigentum inspired the Romans with hopes of subduing all Sicily. The only difficulty was, how to make themselves masters of the maritime cities without the assistance of a fleet, equal at least to that of Carthage. Hitherto they had transported their troops on board of vessels borrowed of their neighbours, the Tarentines, Locrians, and Neapolitans. But now the republic formed a design of being as formidable at sea as she was by land, and ordered a hundred and twenty vessels to be built (C). The Romans immediately set about

The Romans equip a fleet.

this

* Polyb. *ibid.* cap. 19. Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 10. † Eutrop. lib. viii. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 10.

(C) Polybius tells us (1), that the Romans were utter strangers to naval affairs, and quite ignorant of the art of building ships, before the first Punic war. He adds, that it would have been impossible for them to build and equip a fleet,

had not fortune, by a mere accident, instructed them in the method; for a Carthaginian galley, venturing too near the shore, chanced to be stranded, and was taken by the Romans before the mariners could get her off. This galley served

(1) Polyb. lib. i.

this laborious piece of work, cut down trees in their forests, and conveyed them to the sea-side with an expedition peculiar to themselves. This fleet was equipped, as Polybius informs us, in two months, reckoning from the day the trees began to be cut in the forests; and consisted of a hundred galleys with five benches of rowers, and twenty with three (D).

While

them for a model; for they built by it, says he, a fleet of an hundred and twenty galleys. That author was certainly mistaken, when he wrote, that the Romans had no ships at sea before the first Punic war. It is not easy to reconcile him with himself on this subject; for when he elsewhere (2) speaks of the articles of a treaty agreed on by the Romans and Carthaginians, in the consulship of Brutus and Horatius, immediately after the expulsion of the Tarquins, he tells us, that one of the articles was to this effect, that the Romans, and the allies of the Romans, should not sail beyond the Fair Promontory, unless constrained by weather, or by an enemy. In two other treaties, of which he gives us the transcripts, there are several clauses to the same effect. These precautions, on the side of the Carthaginians, manifestly suppose, that the Romans had at that time ships, traded to Africa, and were not so unacquainted with naval affairs, as Polybius represents them to have been at the beginning of the first Punic war. Neither can Polybius be understood as speaking only of ships of war, it being plain, from the reasons of the Tarentine war

agreed on by all historians, that the Romans had at that time a fleet of ten galleys; nay, we are told by all the ancients, that, long before the Tarentine war, the consul Mænius, having ruined the port of Antium, carried part of the fleet of the Antiates, which consisted of twenty galleys, to Rome, and laid them up in the place appointed for building ships. It is no less certain, that, many years before the first Punic war, the Roman people appointed the *duumviri navales*, whose province was confined to the inspection and repairing of ships of the republic. However, it is certain, that the Romans, wholly intent upon the reducing of the neighbouring states, were but little acquainted with naval affairs, till they began to make war out of their own continent.

(D) While some were employed in building the galleys, others, assembling those who were to serve in the fleet, instructed them in the use of the oar after the following manner, which at first seemed somewhat ridiculous: they contrived benches on the shore in the same order as they were to be in the galleys; and, placing their seamen with their oars in

While the galleys were building, the new consuls, L. Valerius Flaccus, and T. Otacilius, brother to M. Otacilius, who had been consul two years before, set out for Sicily, where they easily reduced all the cities that were at any distance from the sea: but while they were employed in subduing the inland countries, the Carthaginians either kept steady in their interest, or brought under subjection, all the places on the coast. So that both parties were equally successful.

In the beginning of the consulate of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina, and C. Duilius, the fleet being equipped, the two consuls chose their different commands by lot. The command of the fleet fell to Cornelius, and that of the land-forces to Duilius. The latter immediately set out with two legions, and passed the streights. Cornelius followed him with seventeen new-built galleys, steering his course along the coast to Messina, to give directions for the reception and security of the fleet. Upon his arrival he was informed, some say by men hired for that purpose by Hannibal, that the island and city of Lipara would surrender to the Romans upon the first summons. Cornelius, giving credit to this report, immediately sailed with his squadron for Lipara, and entered the harbour. But at break of day he found himself blocked up by a greater number of Carthaginian vessels, under the command of Boodes, a senator. In this surprize Cornelius saw no remedy but to submit, and accordingly yielded up himself and his squadron to the enemy (E). In the mean time the hun-

Both consuls pass over into Sicily.

Cornelius and his squadron taken by the enemy.

like manner upon the benches, an officer, by signs with his hand, instructed them how to dip their oars all at the same time, and how to recover them out of the water. By this means they became acquainted with the management of the oar; and, as soon as the vessels were built and equipped, they spent some time in practising on the water what they had learnt ashore (3).

(E) Thus Polybius (4). But Livy (5) tells us, that the

Carthaginian invited Cornelius, and his tribunes, that is, the commanders of his galleys, on board his ship, to confer about the differences between the two republics in an amicable manner; and that the consul, being weak enough to trust to the honour of Boodes, was seized by him, with all his officers, and sent to Carthage: this author adds, that the squadron, being thus deprived of all its commanders, surrendered without fighting.

(3) Polyb. *ibid.* cap. 20, 21.
(5) In *Epitome lib. xvii.*

(4) Polyb. *lib. i.* cap. 22.

The Romans gain a victory by sea.

dred and three Roman gallies, which had remained in the ports, set sail according to the orders Cornelius had given, and, coasting along Italy, made the best of their way towards the mouth of the streights. Hannibal, upon advice that the Roman fleet was at sea, sailed with a squadron of fifty galleys to take a view of their new-fashioned vessels. His curiosity cost him dear; for the Roman fleet appearing, when he least expected it, immediately attacked his squadron with great vigour, and either sunk or took the greatest part of his gallies, Hannibal himself escaping with much difficulty, when his whole fleet believed him lost. The Romans, after this victory, pursued their course to Sicily; and, being informed of the defeat and captivity of Cornelius, who was to have commanded them, they sent an express forthwith to Duilius, who had the command of the land-forces in the island. Duilius, being now sole commander at sea and land, went immediately on board the fleet. The reflection he made on the heaviness of his gallies, did not a little abate his confidence; for the Romans plainly saw, even in the battle, that their vessels were much more unwieldy in working, than those of the enemy. But an engineer in the fleet found means to make amends for this defect, by devising that machine, which was afterwards called *corvus* (F).

The corvus invented.

Duilius sails in quest of the enemy.

The invention of this machine giving the consul more confidence, he left the command of the land-forces to his subalterns, and set sail for Mylæ to encounter the enemy, who had made a descent on that coast. The Carthaginians, who despised the Romans as ignorant of sea-affairs, were overjoyed when they first descried their fleet. They did not give themselves the trouble to draw up their ships in line of battle, but advanced with a squadron in disorder up to the unwieldy triremes of the Romans, dreaming of nothing but certain victory. They were at first surpris'd at the sight of the engine, not knowing the use of it: but the Carthaginians, looking upon those machines as idle inventions of persons not acquainted with the sea, rowed up with confidence to the Roman gallies, and began the battle. The Romans, however, grappling with them by the help of their *corvi*, and boarding their

(F) This was a moving grappled, and boarded the ships stage, by means of which they of the enemy (1).

(1) Polyb. lib. i. p. 84. Follard's Dissert. on the *Corvus*.

ships

ships with great ease, fought hand to hand with them upon deck as on firm ground. Being more expert in this kind of fight than the Carthaginians, and better armed, they soon gained the ascendant over them, and took thirty ships, with all their crews. Among these was the admiral's own galley, a septiremis, which had been taken formerly by the Carthaginians from king Pyrrhus. Hannibal himself was on board of it; but, when he saw the Romans entering his galley, he leaped into a small boat, and escaped. At length the rest of the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of a hundred and twenty gallies, came up, and fell upon the Romans. As they had greatly the advantage in the lightness of their vessels, they nimbly rowed round the Roman gallies, in order to avoid the corvi. But the Romans having learnt the art of working their ships, so as to present their machines to the enemy, which way soever they approached them, they took fifty more of the Carthaginian ships, and obliged the rest to retire into the neighbouring ports of Sicily. In these two engagements the Romans took seven thousand prisoners, killed seven thousand men, sunk thirteen ships, and took eighty. After this victory Duilius, going ashore, put himself at the head of the land-forces, relieved Segesta, which was besieged by Hamilcar, and made himself master of Macella, though defended by a numerous garrison ².

and gains a victory.

The campaign being ended, Duilius returned to Rome, but left his legions in Sicily. During his absence a dispute arose between them and the Sicilian auxiliaries. The Sicilians complained, that the Romans were always placed in the most honourable posts, that is, in the most dangerous. The difference proceeded so far, that the Sicilians separated from the Romans, and encamped by themselves. Hamilcar, who was too vigilant not to draw advantages from this misunderstanding, attacked the Sicilians in their entrenchments, and put four thousand of them to the sword. He then drove the Romans from their posts, took several cities from them, and over-ran great part of the country. In the mean time Hannibal, after having been overcome in the sea-engagement by the Romans, leaving Sicily, sailed with the remains of his shattered fleet to Carthage. In order to secure himself from punishment, he had sent one of his friends with all speed, before the battle was known, to acquaint the se-

The Carthaginians gain some advantages over the Romans.

² Polyb. lib. j. cap. 22—24. Zonar. lib. viii.

nate, that the Romans had put to sea with a good number of heavy ill-built vessels, carrying some machine which the Carthaginians had never seen before. After the messenger had given the senate this account of the Roman fleet, he asked them whether it was their opinion, that Hannibal should attack them. The answer was unanimous: "Let our admiral (they cried out with one voice), fight the Romans, and punish them for daring to brave us on our own element." Then Hannibal's friend acquainted them with what had happened. "What you now command (said he), Hannibal has ventured to do. Fortune indeed has not favoured him; but who can be answerable for the event of things? Hannibal thought as you do. And shall the uncertainty of fortune be deemed a crime?" As the senators could not blame him without condemning themselves, they spared his life, but deprived him of the command of the fleet^a.

*Honours
bestowed
at Rome on
Duilius.*

While the Carthaginians thus disgraced their unfortunate admiral, the Romans heaped honours on the brave Duilius. A victory gained by sea was more valued at this juncture, that all the conquests their consuls and dictators had formerly achieved by land. The consul entered the city in triumph, attended with the acclamations of all Rome. A mark of distinction was granted him, which had never been heard of before. Whenever he returned from supper, he was attended with music and torches. This honour was granted for once only to those who triumphed, when they returned home in the evening from the solemn feast, which was prepared at the expence of the public on such occasions. But to Duilius this distinction was continued as long as he lived. To perpetuate the memory of his triumph, medals were struck, and a pillar of white marble was erected to his honour in the forum Romanum (G).

The consuls for the next year were L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Aquilius Florus. The command of the fleet fell by lot to the former, and that of the land-forces to the latter. They were both ordered into Sicily, but Cor-

^a Polyb. Diog. Sic. *ibid.* Val. Max. lib. vii. cap. 3. Auct. Vir. Illustr. Zonar. *ibid.*

(G) This pillar, called *columna rostrata*, from the beaks of the ships, in Latin *rostra*, that were fastened to it, was accidentally recovered in 1560, and placed by the care of cardinal Alexander Farnese in the Capitol: where it still remains: but the inscription is so effaced as to be unintelligible.

nelius had leave to make an attempt upon the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, if an opportunity offered. While he was employed in getting ready the fleet in different ports of Italy, his colleague was detained at Rome, to suppress a dangerous conspiracy. The republic had caused a great number of men to be brought to Rome, from all the provinces subject to her, to serve as rowers on board her galleys. Among these were four thousand Samnites, who, being unwilling to enter in the sea-service, and finding a plot formed by the discontented slaves to burn and plunder the city, entered into the conspiracy, and joined the slaves, who were three thousand in number. As they wanted a leader, they pitched upon one Errius Potitius, who commanded the auxiliaries, a man of known experience. Errius seemed to enter heartily into their measures, till he had learned the whole secret, and then he discovered it to the senate. All the slaves were put in irons by their masters, and the Samnites imprisoned^b.

A dangerous conspiracy at Rome.

During these distractions at Rome, Cornelius had weighed anchor, and was already on the coasts of Corsica. As men are generally fond of new undertakings, the consul thought the two islands of Corsica and Sardinia worthy of a campaign. And indeed no conquest, next to that of Sicily, could so well answer the end the republic then had in view, which was, to gain the empire of the sea. The Carthaginians, who were then masters of them, had fortified some places in these islands, in order to be nearer to Italy, and make themselves formidable to the maritime cities. The consul attacked Corsica, which he easily reduced, after he had made himself master of Aleria, the only strong place in the island. From Corsica he sailed to Sardinia, and appeared with his fleet off Olbia, a large city on the east side of the island. But as the place was defended by a numerous garrison, and the consul wanted land-forces, he sailed back to Italy, took on board his fleet as many troops as he could conveniently carry, and, returning to Sardinia, made a descent, and laid siege to Olbia. Hanno, who had behaved so well in Sicily, defended the place with incredible bravery; but being killed in one of the attacks, the Carthaginians were obliged to surrender to the conqueror, who gave the Africans an instance of humanity, to which they were utter strangers: he honoured the dead body of their general with magnificent obsequies, and attended it in person to the place of

The Romans conquer Corsica and Sardinia.

^b Oros. lib. iv. cap. 7. Zonar. lib. viii.

burial.

burial^e. The consul did not suffer the ardour of his troops to cool, but besieged and took most of the maritime cities, driving the Carthaginian every where before him.

In the mean time Aquilius, arriving in Sicily, repaired the losses the republic had sustained in that island, since the departure of Duilius. Hamilcar had taken from the Romans the cities of Enna and Camerina, and fortified Drepanum, a place of great importance on account of its harbour. As the consul Aquilius had been detained at Rome to suppress the conspiracy, and did not arrive in Sicily till the campaign was near ended, the republic recalled his colleague Cornelius to preside at the election of the new consuls; when A. Attilius Collatinus, and C. Sulpicius Paternulus, were chosen. The command of the fleet fell to the latter, and that of the land-forces to Attilius. Aquilius was continued in the command of the army in Sicily with the title of proconsul, till the arrival of Attilius; during which time he drove Hamilcar out of the field, and laying siege to Mystratum, a city of great strength, which the Romans had often endeavoured in vain to reduce, brought it to such straits, that it surrendered to his successor Attilius soon after his arrival. The proconsul, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as was his colleague Cornelius, for the conquests he had made in Sicily and Sardinia^d. From Mystratum, Attilius led his army to Camerina; but on his way was surrounded in a deep valley by the Carthaginians, who, under the command of Hamilcar, lay concealed on the hills, so that all the avenues being blocked up, he could neither advance nor retire. In this extremity a legionary tribune, called by some writers Cæditius, by others Laberius, but by the greatest number M. Calpurnius Flamma, desired the consul to give him three hundred chosen men, promising to find the enemy so much employment with this small company, as should oblige them to leave a passage open for the Roman army. He performed his promise with a bravery truly heroic; for, having seized, notwithstanding all opposition, an eminence, and entrenched himself on it, the Carthaginians, jealous of his design, flocked from all quarters to drive him from his post: but the brave tribune kept their whole army employed, till the consul, taking advantage of the diversion, drew his army out of the bad situation into which he had

Mystratum in Sicily taken.

The Roman army saved by the bravery of a legionary tribune.

^e Oros. lib. iv. cap. 7. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 1. ^d Tab. Triumph. Zonar. lib. viii. Liv. Epit. xvii. A. Gel. lib. iii. cap. 7.

imprudently brought it. When the legions were out of danger, they hastened to the relief of their companions; but all they could do, was only to save their bodies from the insults of the enemy; for they found them all dead in the place, on which they had posted themselves, except Calpurnius, who lay under a heap of dead bodies, covered with wounds, but still breathing. His wounds were immediately dressed; and it fortunately happened that none of them proved mortal. For this glorious enterprize he was rewarded with a crown of graven, which was in those happy days a greater encouragement to the Romans to serve their country, than the hopes of more substantial rewards^e.

Attilius, thus rescued from infamy, pursued his march to Camerina, which he took by the help of engines sent him by Hiero, king of Syracuse, and sold all the Carthaginians in the place for slaves. He then marched to Enna, the inhabitants of which place opened the gates to him, delivering the Carthaginians up to the Romans, who put them to the sword. Sittana was taken by assault, and the army, which came to relieve it, put to flight. From thence the consul led his army into the country of the Agrigentines, and, by making himself master of Camicus and Erbesa, drove the enemy out of that fruitful territory. Attilius, flushed with this success, rashly laid siege to Lipara, expecting it would surrender upon the first summons. But Hamilcar, having conveyed himself privately into the city with some chosen troops, made a sally, when the Romans were beginning to scale the walls, and repulsed them with great loss^f.

The Romans take several cities in Sicily.

Sulpicius, who commanded the fleet, completed the conquest of Corsica and Sardinia, and assisted his colleague in the reduction of the maritime cities of Sicily. The brave consul was ambitious of signalizing his campaign by a naval victory; but as no Carthaginian fleet appeared at sea, he spread a report, that he intended to go in quest of it, and burn the ships of the African republic in their own harbours. This intelligence alarmed the Carthaginians, who trusted Hannibal once more with the command of a considerable fleet. He immediately put to sea, and met Sulpicius not far from the coast of Africa. While both fleets were preparing for an engagement, a sudden storm parted them, and drove the Roman as well as the Carthaginian vessels into the ports of Sardinia.

^e Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 12. Liv. Epit. lib. xvii. Aust. Vir. Illust. A. Gel. ibid. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 2. ^f Polyb. ibid. cap. 24.

The Carthaginian fleet surprised.

The storm no sooner began to abate, than Sulpicius, putting to sea, surprised Hannibal in the harbour, and either sunk or took most of his ships. This misfortune occasioned a mutiny among the seamen of his fleet, who, seizing on the person of their commander, crucified him in the city of Sulci in Sardinia, where he had taken refuge. Such was the end of old Hannibal, as he is called by the historians, to distinguish him from the second Hannibal, who proved so fatal to the Romans. Sulpicius, after this victory, returned to Rome, where he received the honours of a triumph ^a.

A Roman squadron destroyed by the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians defeated by the Romans.

The consuls of the following year, C. Attilius Regulus, and Cn. Cornelius Blasio, having, according to custom, drawn lots for their commands, that of the fleet fell to Regulus, and the leading of the land-forces to Cornelius. A. Attilius was continued in the command of the army in Sicily with the title of proconsul. Regulus, who commanded the Roman fleet, being at Tyndaris, descrying that of the Carthaginians lying along the coast in disorder, advanced with ten gallies only, to observe their number and strength, ordering the rest of his fleet to follow with all possible expedition; but as he drew too near the enemy, he was invested by a greater number of Carthaginian gallies. The Romans fought with their usual bravery; but, being over-powered by numbers, were obliged to yield. However, the consul made his escape, and joined the fleet, which was following the unfortunate Squadron in line of battle. He then had his full revenge on the enemy, who were put in disorder at the first onset, and obliged to save themselves in the port of Lipara, after having lost eighteen ships, ten of which were taken with all their crews, and eight sunk ^b. For this victory C. Attilius Regulus, on his return to Rome, received the honours of a triumph, as did also A. Attilius for his exploits during his consulship and proconsulship. The consul Cornelius had no opportunity to signalize himself: he is said only to have pillaged some open villages, and laid waste the island of Melita, which were too inconsiderable exploits to deserve a triumph. Rome being terrified with several prodigies during this campaign, the senate thought themselves obliged to renew the Feriæ Latinæ, which had been for some time neglected. Q. Ogulnius was created dictator, and he appointed M. Lætorius general of the horse.

^a Polyb. *ibid.*

^b Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 12.

The war with Carthage had already lasted eight years. The Carthaginians had lost Corsica, Sardinia, and all their dominions in Sicily, except Lilybæum, Panormus, and a few places in that neighbourhood. Sicily had long seemed to be the utmost limits of the ambition of the Romans; but now they thought of nothing less than reducing Carthage itself. With this view the new consuls, L. Manlius Vulso, and Marcus Atilius Regulus, whose name is famous in history, were ordered to pass into Africa, and to make that country the seat of war. Their fleet, for this expedition, consisted of three hundred and thirty galleys of different sizes, and aboard of each galley were a hundred and twenty soldiers and three hundred rowers. The enemy's fleet, under the command of Hanno and Hamilcar, was yet more formidable; for it consisted of three hundred and sixty sail, better manned than that of the Romans. With this fleet the Carthaginian admirals sailed, and arrived at the port of Heraclea in Sicily, to watch the motions of the Romans, and oppose, at all events, their descent upon the coast of Africa. The consuls, nevertheless, pursued their course, and, appearing off Ecnomus, not far from Heraclea, formed in line of battle. Hanno and Hamilcar accepted the challenge, and a bloody engagement ensued, which lasted the greater part of the day with equal success, the soldiers and commanders on both sides distinguishing themselves on this occasion in a most eminent manner. But at length fortune declared in favour of the Romans. The Carthaginians were routed, thirty of their ships destroyed, sixty-three taken with their crews, and the rest obliged to take shelter in the ports of Sicily and Africa. In this action the Romans lost but twenty-four galleys, which were all sunk¹.

In pursuance of this victory, the consuls, returning into the ports of Sicily, equipped, with all possible expedition, the ships they had taken from the enemy, embarked new troops, and took in fresh provisions, in order to make the intended descent upon Africa. Hanno endeavoured to amuse them with conferences, in hopes of receiving, in the mean time, some supplies from Carthage: he had even the boldness to come in person to confer with the consuls, as a deputy from his republic. When he arrived, the multitude cried out, that he should be detained prisoner, by way of reprisal for the treachery

The new consuls ordered into Africa.

Yr. of Fl.
2103.
Ante Chr.
245.
U. C. 503

The Carthaginian fleet routed.

¹ Polyb. *ibid.* cap. 26, 30. Oros. *lib.* iv. cap. 8.

practised, five years before, on the person of the consul Cornelius Asina. Hanno, alarmed at these clamours, with an air of confidence, put this *flattering* and artful question to the consuls: "What advantage can it be to you, consuls, to imitate our perfidiousness? It will only be said, that Rome produces as bad men as Carthage." The consuls replied, that though the *perfidious* Carthaginians had violated the law of nations, it became the probity of the Roman's to observe them even with traitors: and suffered him to return untouched^k. There being no disposition for peace on either side, Hanno repaired to Carthage, to give notice of the approaching invasion.

The Romans make a descent upon Asina.

The consuls set sail, and the weather proving favourable, had a fortunate passage. The first land in Africa they made was cape Herma; and there the fleet lay at anchor some time, waiting till all the galleys and transports came up. From thence they coasted along till they arrived before Clupea, a city to the east of Carthage, where they made their first descent. Clupea, or, as the Greek writers call it, Aspis, was conveniently situated for a magazine of arms and provisions, and had near it several ports for sheltering such ships as should come from Italy. The Romans, therefore, having laid up their fleet in one of these ports, and secured it on the land-side with a rampart and a large ditch, invested the city, which was immediately surrendered^l. From Clupea they dispatched a messenger to Rome, to acquaint the senate and people with their success, and to receive fresh instructions as to their proceedings. While the consuls waited for the return of the messenger, they marched into the country, and, ravaging the fruitful plains of Africa, where no enemy had long appeared, returned to the coast with an immense booty. While they thus lived at discretion in the enemy's country, the messenger returned from Rome with orders for Manlius to repair to Italy with the fleet, and for Regulus to pursue the war in Africa, with as many troops and ships as he thought proper for that service. But Regulus appeared greatly dissatisfied with the province assigned him, and desired to be recalled. He represented to the senate, that upon the death of the husbandman, who had the care of his little farm of seven acres of ground, he had been obliged to employ a day-labourer, who had stolen his cattle, and carried off all his stock; so that his presence was necessary at home to pro-

^k Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 12. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 6.
^l Polyb. *ibid.* cap. 30, 31.

¹ Po-

vide for the subsistence of his wife and children, Upon this remonstrance, the senate ordered his family to be maintained at the expence of the public; but directed him to continue in Africa, and command the army there with the title of proconsul, when the year of his consulate should expire^m. Pursuant to these orders, Atilius remained in Africa with forty ships, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, while his colleague returned to Rome with the rest of the army, carrying aboard his fleet twenty-seven thousand prisoners.

In the following year the republic raised Ser. Fulvius Nobilior, and M. Æmilius Paulus to the consulate; but all the attention of the republic was upon Regulus, who now, as proconsul, pushed on his conquests with incredible rapidity. To oppose his progress, Hamilcar was recalled from Sicily, and to him were joined Bostar and Afrubal. Hamilcar commanded an army equal to that of Regulus; the other two headed separate bodies, which were to join him, or act apart, as occasion required. Before they were in a condition to take the field, Regulus, pursuing his conquests, arrived on the banks of the Bagrada, which empties itself into the sea at a small distance from Carthage (H). Having passed this river, he besieged

Yr. of Fl.
2104.
Ante Chr.
244.
U. C. 504⁸

*Regulus's
conquests.*

^m Polyb. *ibid.* cap. 29. Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 4.

(H) There he is said to have been harassed by a serpent of an immense size, which infected the waters of the river, poisoned the air, and killed all other animals with its breath. When the Romans went to fetch water, this huge dragon attacked them, and, twisting itself round their bodies, either squeezed them to death, or swallowed them alive. As its hard and thick scales were proof against their darts and arrows, they were forced to have recourse to the balistæ, which they made use of in sieges. With these machines they discharged showers of large

stones against this new enemy, and had the good luck, with one of them to break his backbone; thus disabled, it was dispatched with darts and javelins. His dead body corrupted the air, and the water of the river; and spread so great an infection all over the country, that the Romans were obliged to decamp. We are told, that Regulus sent the skin of this frightful monster to Rome, which was a hundred and twenty feet long, and that it was hung up in a temple, where it was preserved to the time of the Numantine war (1).

(1) Vide Flor. lib. ii. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 13. Oros. lib. iv. Val. Max. lib. i. cap. 2. Cell. lib. vi. cap. 3. Plin. lib. viii. cap. 14.

Adis,

Adis, or Adda, not far from Carthage, which the enemy attempted to relieve; but as they encamped among the hills and rocks, where their elephants, in which the strength of the army lay, could be of no use, Regulus killed seventeen thousand of them, took five thousand prisoners, and eighteen elephants. Upon the fame of this victory, which was soon spread all over Africa, deputies came from all quarters to submit, in the name of their respective cities and states, to the conqueror; infomuch that Regulus, in a few days, became master of eighty towns; among which were the city and port of Utica. These successes increased the alarm at Carthage, which was reduced to despair, when Regulus laid siege to Tunis, a city about nine miles from that capital. The place was taken in sight of the Carthaginians, who, from their walls beheld all the operations of the siege, and suffered the Romans to carry on their attacks without offering to relieve it. To complete their misfortunes, the Numidians, their neighbours and irreconcilable enemies, took up arms, entered their territory, and committed every-where dreadful devastations, which soon occasioned a great scarcity of provisions in the city. The public magazines were exhausted; and as the city was full of merchants, who took advantage of the public distress to sell their provisions at an excessive price, a famine ensued, with all the evils which generally attend that calamity.

Sends proposals of peace to Carthage, which are rejected.

In this extremity, Regulus advanced to the gates of the city; and having encamped under the walls, sent deputies to treat of a peace with the senate. The deputies were received at Carthage with inexpressible joy; but the conditions they proposed were such, that the senate could not hear them without indignation; and Regulus, as if he had made a complete conquest of Carthage, would abate nothing of his first demands. The conditions imported, 1. That the Carthaginians should relinquish all claims to Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. 2. That they should restore to the Romans the prisoners they had taken from them since the beginning of the war. 3. That if they chose to redeem any of their own prisoners, they should pay for them at a price Rome should judge reasonable. 4. That they should for ever pay the Romans an annual tribute. 5. That for the future they should fit out but one ship of war for their own use, and fifty triremes to serve in the Roman fleet, at the expence of Carthage, when required by any of the future consuls. These extravagant demands provoked the senators, who unanimously

unanimously rejected them; protesting, that they would rather die 2 thousand times, than submit to so shameful a slavery. The Roman deputies in leaving the assembly, told the senate, that the proconsul would not alter a single letter in the proposals; and that they must either conquer the Romans, or obey them. After this declaration, the Carthaginians had nothing left but to sell their lives dear, and to die with honour, in defence of their countryⁿ.

Before this negotiation, the Carthaginian republic had sent to hire mercenaries in Greece; and this reinforcement arrived just in the height of her distress. Among these mercenaries was a Lacedæmonian, by name Xantippus, a man of great bravery and experience in war. The Lacedæmonian, having informed himself of the circumstances of the late battle, declared publicly, that their overthrow was owing to their own misconduct, and not to the superior skill and prowess of the enemy. His discourse came to the knowledge of the senate; and the senators immediately commanded him to be brought before them. Being introduced, he explained himself so clearly, and talked so judiciously, that the Carthaginian generals, as well as the rest, were for placing him at the head of the army; and a decree was made for that purpose. Xantippus, being thus invested with the supreme command, applied himself to the disciplining of his troops after the Lacedæmonian manner: he then took the field with twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and about a hundred elephants. The Romans were surprised at the sudden change they observed in the enemy's conduct. However, Regulus, elated with his last success, encamped at a small distance from the Carthaginian army, in a vast plain, where the enemy's elephants and horse had room to act. The two armies were parted by a river, which Regulus boldly passed, and by that motion left his troops no way to retreat in case of a misfortune. Xantippus immediately cried out, "The gods favour us!" and formed his men in order of battle. In the first line he placed his dartmen, with orders to retire into the spaces between the battalions, when they had made their discharge. Behind them, but at some distance, were placed the elephants, in a long front, carrying wooden towers filled with men. Behind the elephants was the Carthaginian phalanx, consisting of the best infantry of the

*Xantippus,
the Lacedæmonian,
arrives in*

*Is appointed
general
of the
Carthaginian
army.*

ⁿ Polyb. *ibid.* cap. 38. Orof. lib. iv. cap. 8. Eutrop. lib. ii. Zon. lib. viii. cap. 13. Diod. Sic. in Excerpt.

army; and these constituted the main body. As for the wings, Xantippus posted his light-armed troops on the left, and the mercenaries on the right. These two wings were supported by the African cavalry. Regulus drew up his troops after the Roman manner; but was guilty of one great fault: to prevent the elephants from breaking in upon him, he made his main body too narrow, and too deep; a disposition which exposed it to the danger of being furrounded.

Xantippus began the attack, ordering the leaders of the elephants to advance, and attempt the breaking of the enemy's first line. The Romans stood the shock of those animals with great bravery; but, in the mean time, the Roman cavalry in the wings, being charged by the Carthaginian, which was greatly superior in number, were overpowered, and obliged to fly; while Regulus's left wing, attacking the mercenaries, whom Xantippus had posted in his right, broke them, and pursued them to their camp, whither they retired in disorder. In the mean time, the main body of the Romans, which Regulus commanded in person, being attacked in front by the elephants, and in the rear by the African cavalry, was put into disorder: the elephants bore down all before them; and such of the Romans as attempted to make their escape, to avoid the fury of those animals, fell in among the horse, and were cut in pieces. The main body being thus broken, and thrown into confusion, the whole army was put to the rout, and the slaughter was universal. Of the Roman army, only two thousand, who pursued the mercenaries, escaped, and arrived safe at Clupea. Regulus himself, with five hundred men, was furrounded by the enemy, and taken. The rest were cut in pieces, either in the battle, or in the pursuit. The loss of the Carthaginians was not above eight hundred men, most of them mercenaries in the right wing, which was routed. The victorious army returned to the capital of Africa, which Xantippus entered, as it were, in triumph, leading the proconsul with him among the rest of the prisoners. All the people of Carthage ran to meet their deliverer, and could scarce believe their own eyes. They beheld, with unspeakable pleasure, the proud Roman in a state to excite that compassion, which he had refused to their misfortunes. As for Xantippus they looked upon him as a hero sent by the gods to rescue a

The Romans defeated, and Regulus taken prisoner.

* Polyb. *ibid.* cap. 33. Frontin. *lib.* ii. cap. 8.

miserable people from despair and oppression; and bestowed on him all the honours which gratitude could suggest. But the wise Lacedæmonian, foreseeing that the service he had done them would create him both envy and danger, resolved to content himself with the glory of so noble a victory, and, without waiting for any other reward, returned to Lacedæmon.

The defeat and captivity of Regulus caused as much grief at Rome as joy at Carthage. The senate no sooner received an account of the posture of their affairs in Africa, so contrary to their expectation, than they ordered the consuls for the year, Fulvius and Æmilius, who had hitherto continued at Rome inactive, to take proper measures for securing the coasts of Italy from an invasion, to hasten into Sicily, and from thence, if they thought it adviseable, to pass over into Africa, and save the remains of Regulus's army and conquests. In the mean time, the Carthaginians sat down before Clupea; but the garrison made so brave and obstinate a defence, that the enemy, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, were obliged to raise the siege. From Clupea they marched to Utica, which they likewise besieged; but abandoned the enterprise upon the news they received, that the Romans were equipping a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail. This formidable armament was ready before the end of the summer; so that the consuls from Sicily, where they left some land-forces, sailed for Africa, in order to make a second descent. The Carthaginians, who had, with incredible expedition, refitted their old vessels, and built a good number of new galleys, met the Roman fleet off Cape Hermæa, or Cape Mercury, and gave them battle; in which the loss they sustained was much greater than the advantage they had gained over Regulus. A hundred and four of their ships were sunk, thirty taken, and fifteen thousand of their soldiers or rowers killed in the action. After this battle, the Romans pursued their course to Clupea, where they had no sooner landed, than they were attacked by the Carthaginian army, under the command of the two Hannos, father and son. But, as the brave Lacedæmonian was no longer with them, notwithstanding the new discipline he had established, they were routed at the first onset, in which they lost nine thousand men.

The Carthaginians defeated both by sea and land.

After these two glorious victories, the one by sea, and the other by land, the Romans found themselves obliged, for want of provisions, to drop their African expedition,

The Romans abandon Africa.

*The Roman fleet
destroyed
by a storm.*

and to evacuate both Clupea and Utica. In their way home they were desirous of signalizing the end of their consulate by some important conquests on the coast of Sicily, where some cities still adhered to the Carthaginians. They thought the sudden appearance of a victorious fleet, with a formidable army, would awe them into subjection. Instead, therefore, of returning home, they steered their course to the northern coast of Sicily, contrary to the opinion of all the pilots in the fleet, who advised them, as the season was far advanced, to sail strait for Italy. Their obstinacy proved the destruction of the fleet; for a more violent storm arising than had been known in the memory of man, the fleet was almost entirely destroyed: of three hundred and seventy vessels, which composed it, eighty only escaped shipwreck, the rest being either swallowed by the sea, or dashed against the shore. This was by far the greatest loss Rome had ever sustained; for, besides the great number of ships that were cast away with their crews, a numerous army was destroyed, with all the riches of Africa, which had been by Regulus amassed, and deposited in Clupea. The whole coast from Pachinum to Camerina was covered with dead bodies, and strewn with the wrecks of the ships: infomuch that history can scarce afford an example of the like dreadful disaster. The Romans, on this occasion, experienced the constant friendship of king Hiero, who supplied such as escaped the common calamity, with cloaths, provisions, and ships to convey them to Messina. This misfortune, however, was not imputed to the consuls, who were continued each in the command of an army for the next year, with the title of proconsul. The new consuls were Cn. Cornelius Asina, and A. Attilius Calatinus. The former had been treacherously taken prisoner by Hanno, the Carthaginian, as we have related above, and kept in captivity till the first descent of the Romans in Africa, when he was delivered from slavery, during which he had been obliged to drive a plough.

*They fit
out a new
fleet.*

The Carthaginians, upon advice of the misfortune which had befallen the Romans, renewed the war in Sicily, hoping the whole island, which was now left defenceless, would soon fall into their hands. But the Romans having, in the space of three months, launched an hundred and twenty new gallies, which, with the old ones that were refitted, made a fleet of two hundred and

fifty sail, the consuls and proconsuls were ordered to pass over into Sicily, the former to command at sea, and the latter by land. As they besieged only maritime cities, they acted jointly, the land forces investing them on one side, and the fleet on the other. Their first attempt was on the city of *Cephalædium*, on the north coast, not far from the mouth of the Himera, which was betrayed to them by some of the inhabitants. From thence they sailed to *Panormus*, the capital of the Carthaginian dominions in Sicily; and, having seized the port, summoned the town to surrender. The inhabitants and garrison being determined to sustain a siege, the consuls landed their troops, and began to batter the walls with their engines, by which a tower standing near the sea was ruined. At this breach the Romans entered, and made themselves masters of the quarter called the New City, those who defended it retiring into the Old City, whither they carried terror and famine; so that the inhabitants soon sent a deputation to the consuls, offering to surrender, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and effects, were spared. The consuls, not ignorant of the extremity to which they were reduced, would not even grant them their lives and liberties, unless they were ransomed. The unhappy people were obliged to submit, and forty thousand paid two minæ each for their ransom. Those who could not advance that sum, were made slaves, to the number of thirty thousand, and sold. After this conquest, the consuls sailed to Rome; but in their passage the transports, on which they had embarked the money and spoils brought from *Panormus*, were taken by the Carthaginian fleet^a. The proconsul entered Rome in triumph, for the victory gained over the Carthaginians at sea during their consulate.

Cephalædium,

and Panormus, taken by the Romans.

The consuls for the new year, Cn. Servilius Cæpio, and C. Sempronius Blæsus, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty gallies, sailed for Sicily, and appeared off Lilybæum; but finding this place too strong for them to attempt the siege of it, they steered from thence to the eastern coast of Africa, where they made several descents, surprised some cities, and plundered several towns and villages. As they returned with the spoils of that rich country, they narrowly escaped losing their whole fleet on the flats of the Lesser Syrtis, near the island of the Lotophagi; where, by coasting too near the shore, their vessels ground-

^a Polyb. lib. i. cap. 39. Diod. Sic. in Excerpt.

*The Roman
fleet de-
stroyed.*

ed, and stuck on the sand-banks, till the flood brought them off again; and then they made away so fast, that the Africans took their departure for a flight. They arrived safe at Panormus, and from thence, after a few days, set sail for Italy, having a fair wind till they came off cape Palinurus, where so violent a storm overtook them, that an hundred and sixty of their gallies, and a great number of their transports, were lost. The republic considering the two tempests which had destroyed her two fleets, as a declaration of the gods against her design of depriving the Carthaginians of the empire of the sea, made a decree, that for the future no more than fifty vessels should be equipped; and that these should be employed in guarding the coast of Italy, and transporting troops into Sicily. The proconsul Cornelius commanded, this campaign, the land-forces in Sicily; and, though historians give us no account of his exploits, there is no room to doubt but they were very considerable, since he was, on his return to Rome, decreed a triumph, as was also the consul Sempronius Blæsus.

*Himera
taken by
the Ro-
mans.*

C. Aurelius Cotta, and P. Servilius Geminus, being the ensuing year raised to the consulate, passed into Sicily, to command the land-forces there, and made themselves masters of Himera, a city at the mouth of a river bearing the same name. Aurelius, animated with this conquest, which put his republic in possession of a fruitful territory, formed a design upon the island and city of Lipara; and, being supplied with ships by that faithful friend to the republic, king Hiero, he transported some of his chosen troops into the island, and sat down before Lipara, the metropolis: but, being seized with some unaccountable scruple touching the auspices, he returned to Messana, to consult the auguries anew. During his absence, Q. Cassius, and P. Aurelius Pecuniola, his relation, both legionary tribunes, being entrusted with the command of the army, attacked the city, contrary to their general's express command. The besieged made so vigorous a sally, that they repulsed the aggressors, and, pursuing them with great spirit, burnt their palisades, and made an attempt upon their camp. When the consul returned, he deprived Cassius of his employment, and reduced Aurelius, after ordering him to be scourged, to the state of a private soldier, obliging him to undergo the drudgeries of a common sentinel. After having made these examples, the consul applied himself wholly to the siege of the place, took it by

assault,

assault, and put almost all the inhabitants to the sword^r. The consul, having finished this conquest, returned to Sicily; and, with an army of forty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, laid siege to Ereta; but as soon as the Carthaginian army appeared, they abandoned the enterprize.

*Lipara
taken by
the Ro-
mans. **

This year a plebeian, Tib. Coruncanius, by some unknown revolution, was raised to the dignity of pontifex maximus. As he was a man of eminent probity, he concurred with the consul Aurelius, and the censors, to punish those who neglected the worship of the gods, led irregular lives, or transgressed the laws of military discipline. Thirteen senators were ignominiously struck off the list; and, at the motion of Aurelius, four hundred knights, who had refused to obey his orders in the island of Lipara, were degraded. Aurelius, who had taken Himeria and Lipara, was honoured with a triumph, which he obtained on the ides of April^s. By a census taken this year, there appeared to be in Rome two hundred and ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven men fit to bear arms. The Carthaginians seeing themselves now masters of the sea, and their hopes of reconquering Sicily encreasing in proportion as they found their rivals reduced to act upon the defensive, they began to make new levies in Africa, to hire troops in Gaul, and Spain, and to equip a new fleet. But their treasures being exhausted, they sent an embassy to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, intreating him to lend them two thousand talents. That prince, being resolved to stand neuter, refused to assist them against the Romans, telling them, that he could not, without breach of fidelity, assist one friend against another^t. However, the Carthaginian republic made an effort, and, exerting herself, equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, and raised an army of thirty thousand men, and a hundred and forty elephants, appointing Asdrubal commander in chief both of the fleet and army.

Yr. of Fl.
2107.
Ante Chr.
241.
U C. 507.

*The Car-
thaginians
fit out a
new fleet.*

While Carthage was employed in making these great preparations, Rome raised L. Cæcilius Metellus, and C. Furius Pacilus, to the consulate. They went into Sicily, and there acted upon the defensive, pursuant to their instructions from the senate. Though the conscript fathers approved of the obedience of their generals, yet they began to reflect, that so much caution and circumspection

^r Frontin. lib. iv. cap. 1. Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. 4. Zon. lib. viii. cap. 14.

^s Tab. Triumph. Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. 9.

^t Appian. apud Ful. Ursin.

The Romans put a new fleet to sea.

Metellus gains a signal victory in Sicily.

dishonoured the commanders, and greatly abated the courage of the soldiers. They resumed, therefore, their former vigour, and, forgetting their shipwrecks, resolved to put a new fleet to sea, there being no other means to preserve Sicily. While the vessels were building, the comitia chose two consuls, who were both men of valour and experience; namely, L. Manlius Vulso, and C. Attilius Regulus, cousin-german to the famous captive. The late consul Furius was recalled from Sicily; but his colleague Metellus continued there, with the title of proconsul, to oppose the army under the command of Asdrubal. Metellus, who was an able commander, being allowed by the senate to act according to his own judgment, soon recovered the former reputation of the Romans in Sicily; for, by pretending fear, he drew Asdrubal into a disadvantageous situation, near Panormus; then gave him a terrible overthrow, and obtained one of the most signal victories mentioned in the Roman history. Twenty thousand of the enemy were killed, and many elephants; of these latter a great number were also taken, and sent afterwards to Rome, where they swelled the pomp of the conqueror's triumph. Asdrubal fled to Lilybæum, which he reached with great difficulty; and the proconsul, having no more enemies to contend with in the field, returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph on the seventh of the ides of September. The Romans had never seen a more magnificent entry. The elephants, to the number of a hundred and four, marched through the city in procession. The air rung with acclamations at the sight of those animals, and of the great number of prisoners in chains, among whom were thirteen officers of distinction. The Romans having resolved never to make use of elephants in war, they ordered them to be hunted, and put to death in the circus, by their *athletæ*, or wrestlers; so that the people were at the same time diverted, and taught to despise the animals they had hitherto so much dreaded. As for the unhappy Asdrubal, he was condemned in his absence, and on his return home crucified, one misfortune obliterated the remembrance of his many former important services^a.

The consuls, with the new fleet of two hundred and forty galleys, and sixty smaller vessels, passing over into Sicily, resolved to surpass, if possible, their predecessor Metellus, and to drive the Carthaginians quite out of the

^a Zon. lib. viii. cap. 14. Polyb. cap. 41—43. Orof. lib. iv. cap. 9. island.

island. With this view they laid siege to Lilybæum, a city deemed impregnable, and the only place of retreat for the Carthaginian armies. But Lilybæum proved a second Troy; the siege lasted ten years, the forces of the two republics being exhausted within and without the walls of one single city. The people of Carthage, upon the news of this enterprize, were so discouraged, that they began to think of a peace. The war had already lasted fourteen years; they had lost their best commanders; their elephants had been taken from them; their fleets had been destroyed as fast as they had put them to sea; their finances were as much exhausted as their armies were diminished; the only towns they had now left in Sicily were Lilybæum and Drepanum, the one invested, and the other exposed to the insults of the enemy's new fleet. These considerations induced them to think of ending so destructive a war by a speedy peace. With this view they began to soften the rigours of Regulus's confinement, and endeavoured to engage him to go to Rome with their ambassadors, and use his interest there to bring about a peace upon moderate terms, or at least an exchange of prisoners. Regulus obeyed, and embarked for Rome, after having bound himself by a solemn oath to return to his chains, if the negotiation did not succeed. The Carthaginian ship arrived safe in Italy; but when Regulus came to the gates of the city, he refused to enter. "My misfortunes (said he), have made me a slave to the Carthaginians; I am no longer a Roman citizen; the senate always gives audience to foreigners without the gates." His wife Marcia went to meet him, and presented to him his two young children; but he only casting a kind of wild look on them, fixed his eyes on the ground, as if he thought himself unworthy of the embraces of his wife, and the caresses of his children. When the senators assembled in the suburbs, he was introduced to them by the Carthaginian ambassadors, and together with them made the two proposals with which he was charged: "Conscript fathers (said he), being now a slave to the Carthaginians, I am come on the part of my masters to treat with you concerning a peace, and an exchange of prisoners." Having uttered these words, he would have withdrawn with the ambassadors, who were not allowed to be present at the deliberations and disputes of the conscript fathers. In vain the senate pressed him to stay, and give his opinion as an old senator and consul. He refused to continue in the assembly, till his

*Lilybæum
besieged by
the Ro-
mans.*

*The Car-
thaginians
send Regu-
lus to Rome
to treat of
a peace.*

African

African masters ordered him to comply : then the illustrious slave took his place among the fathers ; but continued silent with his eyes fixed on the ground, while the more ancient senators spoke.

*His speech
in the se-
nate.*

When it came to his turn to deliver his opinion, he spoke to this effect : " Though I am a slave at Carthage, yet I am free at Rome, and will therefore declare my sentiments with freedom. Romans, it is not for your interest either to grant the Carthaginians a peace, or to make an exchange of prisoners with them. Carthage is extremely exhausted ; and the only reason why she sues for peace, is, because she is not in a condition to continue the war. You have been vanquished but once, and that by my fault ; a fault which Metellus has repaired by a signal victory. The Carthaginians have been so often overcome, that they have not the courage to look a Roman in the face. Your allies continue peaceable, and serve you with zeal. Your enemy's troops consist only of mercenaries, who have no other tie but that of interest, and will soon be disoblged by the republic they serve, Carthage being already quite destitute of money to pay them. No, Romans ; a peace with Carthage does not suit your interest, considering the conditions to which the Carthaginians are reduced. I therefore advise you to pursue the war with greater vigour than ever. As for the exchange of prisoners, you have among the Carthaginian captives several officers of distinction, who are young, and may one day command the enemy's armies : but, as for me, I am advanced in years, and my misfortunes have made me useless. Besides, what can you expect from soldiers who have been vanquished, and made slaves ? Such men, like timorous deer that have escaped the hunter's toils, will ever be upon the alarm, and ready to fly." The senate, greatly affected by his disinterestedness, magnanimity, and contempt of life, would willingly have preserved him, and continued the war in Africa. Some were of opinion, that in Rome he was not obliged to keep an oath which had been extorted from him in an enemy's country. The pontifex maximus himself, being consulted in the case, declared, that Regulus might continue at Rome without being guilty of perjury. The noble captive, highly offended at this decision, as if his honour and courage were called in question, declared to the senate, who trembled to hear him speak, that he well knew what torments were reserved for him at Carthage ; but that he had so much of the true spirit of a
Roman,

Roman, as to dread less the tortures of a cruel rack than the shame of a dishonourable action, which would follow him to his grave. "It is my duty (said he), to return to Carthage. Let the gods take care of the rest." This intrepidity rendered the senate still more desirous of saving such a hero. All means were used to prevail upon him to stay, both by the people and senate. He would not even see his wife Marcia, nor suffer his young children to take their leave of him. Amidst the lamentations and tears of the whole city, he embarked with the Carthaginian ambassadors, to return to the place of his slavery, with as serene and chearful a countenance as if he had been going to a country-seat for his diversion. The Carthaginians were so enraged against him, that they invented new torments to satisfy their revenge. First, they cut off his eye-lids, keeping him for a while in a dark dungeon, and then bringing him out, and exposing him to the sun at noon-day. Then they shut him up in a kind of chest stuck with nails, having their points inwards, so that he could neither sit nor lean without great torment; and there they suffered him to die with hunger, anguish, and want of sleep * (I).

Returns to Carthage, and is put to a cruel death.

* Appian. in Punic. Val. Max. lib. i. cap. 1. & lib. ix. cap. 2. Cic. de Offic. lib. ii. A. Gel. Noctes Atticæ, &c. Liv. Epit. cap. 18.

(I) It is somewhat strange, quiste torments; though it that Hoffman should look upon must be owned, that they relate a fact, attested by a cloud of the circumstances of his death very differently: some credible witnesses, as a fable. It is true, that Polybius, in say, that he was crucified; in other cases a most exact historian, does not mention the others, that he died of the cruel death of Regulus. But the miseries of a long imprisonment: but the common opinion is the silence of a single author, is that which we have inserted in the text. Regulus was not who is wholly taken up in describing battles and sieges, sufficient to weigh down the express testimonies of Cicero, Livy, Appian, Zonaras, Valerius Maximus, and especially of Tuditanus, who lived in the same age with Polybius? All these writers agree, that Regulus died in the midst of ex-

stocks.

S E C T. II.

From the Death of Regulus to the taking of Saguntum by the Carthaginians.

WHEN the news of the cruelties inflicted upon Regulus reached Rome, the senate, by way of retaliation, gave up the chief of the Carthaginian captives to the revenge of Marcia, the wife of Regulus; who, venting her rage upon those unhappy wretches, caused them to be shut up two and two in great chests thick stuck with nails, and there to suffer the same torments which her husband had endured at Carthage. Bostar died the fifth day; but Hamilcar, notwithstanding the stench and corruption of the dead body of his companion, lived ten days, having as much food allowed him as was sufficient to prolong his life in misery. At length the senate put a stop to this cruel usage, and commanded Bostar's ashes to be sent home, and the rest of the prisoners, who had survived their tortures, to be used with more humanity *.

The Romans carry on the siege of Lilybæum.

In the mean time the two consuls, Manlius and Attilius, carried on the siege of Lilybæum with great vigour. Himilco, a general of great experience, and personal valour, commanded in the place, which was strong both by nature and art, and defended by a very numerous garrison, consisting of ten thousand mercenary Gauls and Greeks, besides a prodigious number of Carthaginian and African troops. The consuls divided the attacks between them, the one investing the city on the land side, the other blocking it up by sea. Their camps had a communication by a deep ditch, covered with a rampart and a wall, so that they could mutually assist each other. The first attack was made at the point of Cape Lilybæum, where were seven towers, which had a communication with each other, and reached in a direct line to the town. These towers being taken one after another, the consuls prepared to batter the wall of the city; but were obliged first to fill up a ditch sixty cubits broad, and forty deep, in order to bring their machines up to the wall. This proved a laborious work, the besieged drawing up the earth into the cities by certain engines, as fast as the besiegers threw it into the ditch. But the Romans, by the

* Diod. Sic. lib. xxiv. A. Gel. lib. vi cap. 4.

superior number of their workmen, gained their point. Then Himilco, with incredible expedition, threw up a rampart, and built a new wall to cover that of the city. The Romans endeavoured to undermine it; but the enemy attacked the Roman miners under-ground, and prevented them from carrying on their operations. The besieged, however, were much reduced, numbers being killed in the sallies they made, and the rest harrassed in defending the works against two consular armies. The town must have soon fallen into the enemy's hands, had it not received a seasonable reinforcement. The Romans had shut up the port so closely, that Himilco could not find means to acquaint the senate of Carthage with the condition to which he was reduced. Nevertheless, it was concluded, that, after so long a siege, the place must want both men and provisions: a supply was therefore decreed of provisions, and as many men as could be transported in a squadron of fifty galleys; which were accordingly dispatched under the command of Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar. That brave commander, arriving safe at the island of Ægusa, sheltered himself there, waiting for a proper time to force his way through the enemy's fleet, which lay at the mouth of the harbour. As soon as a brisk south wind blew, he crowded all his sails, ordered all his rowers to ply their oars, passed through the midst of the Roman fleet, and arrived safe in the port with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, and a great quantity of provisions. The sudden appearance of the African squadron, and the fear of being forced into the port with the enemy by the violence of the wind, prevented the Romans from attacking Hannibal; so that he got into Lilybæum without the loss of a man. Himilco, encouraged by this reinforcement, made the next day a brisk sally at the head of twenty thousand men, in hopes of destroying the engines of the Romans. Never was action carried on with more bravery, but the besieged were repulsed with great loss, without being able to set fire to the engines, as they intended.

The besieged receive a supply of men and provisions.

The night after this obstinate action, Hannibal, finding himself to be of no use in Lilybæum, put the Carthaginian cavalry on board his galleys, sailed boldly through the Roman fleet, and got safe to Drepanum, whence he made incursions into the territories of the allies of the Romans, and intercepted the provisions which were designed for

Bold undertaking of Hannibal the Rhodian.

His success.

He is taken at last by the Romans.

the consular armies. This conduct occasioned a great scarcity in the two camps, which obliged one of the consuls to retire with his two legions from the rest of the army. In the mean time his colleague endeavoured to shut up the harbour with a bar made of strong beams, fastened together with iron braces: but this work was soon destroyed by the winds, and strong currents. However, the report being spread at Carthage, that the harbour was shut up, no vessel would venture out for some time, to bring them from Lilybæum an account of the siege. At length a Rhodian, by name Hannibal, undertook to enter the harbour, and bring them intelligence how their affairs stood in that quarter. He accordingly put to sea, and, getting safe to one of those islands which lie opposite to Lilybæum, the next morning, with a fair wind, and a fresh gale, he passed through the enemy's fleet, and, to their great surprize, entered the port. The consul gave strict orders to have a more careful eye on the entrance of the haven, and ordered ten of his lightest vessels to be placed there, with their oars, like so many wings, displayed, and ready to fly after the prey they expected. The Rhodian, depending upon his skill in sea-affairs, and the lightness of his vessel, not only escaped safely, but in contempt of the Romans, who pursued him, would often lie upon his oars, till they got near him, and then row quite round their vessels. He thus passed and repassed several times, carrying to Carthage an account of the siege, and to Lilybæum the orders of the senate. The successful temerity of the Rhodian encouraged several Carthaginians to make the like attempt; but one of these adventurers, less skilful than Hannibal in the knowledge of the currents between the rocks and the flats, grounded, and was taken by the Romans. The consul immediately put on board this light galley the best crew he had, and waited with impatience for a fresh insult from the Rhodian. It was not long before that adventurer entered the port again in the night, according to his custom; and was preparing to sail out in broad day, not knowing that the Romans were now masters of a galley which was as good a failer as his own. He weighed anchor with great confidence, and sailed out of the port in sight of the enemy's fleet; but was greatly surprised to see the Romans pursue him close, and at length come up with him, notwithstanding the lightness of his vessel. After an obstinate resistance, the Rhodian vessel was boarded, and taken with all her crew. The Romans, being

ing now in possession of two light gallies, shut up the port so effectually, that no Carthaginian ever after attempted to enter it ^z.

The besieged were not discouraged by being deprived of this advantage; they resisted two general attacks of the besiegers, and obliged them to retire with great slaughter, after they had got possession of the first rampart. The advantage they gained in these attacks was followed by another, which had like to have reduced the Romans to despair. A sudden storm arising, and the wind blowing from the land with such violence, as almost to overturn the machines of the Romans, the Carthaginians, by the advice of some mercenary Greeks in their service, took advantage of this accident, and fallying out, set fire to the galleries, platforms, towers, and balistæ, of the besiegers. As the storm blew full in the faces of the Romans, they were so blinded with the smoke, that they could only throw their darts at a venture, while the flame, which spread very fast, gave light to the enemy. The boasted constancy of the Romans would not have been able to bear up under this terrible disaster, had not their generous friend Hiero raised their drooping spirits, by sending them convoys of provisions, and exhorting them not to abandon the enterprize.

*The works
before Lily-
bæum de-
stroyed.*

After this shock, the consul, finding himself not in a condition to take Lilybæum by force, turned the siege into a blockade. At Rome the news of this disaster made different impressions on the people and the senate. Ten thousand of the people, entering into an association to serve in the army before Lilybæum, passed over to Messana, and from thence marched on foot to the Roman camp. In the senate many were for concluding a peace; and the dispute rose to such a height, that from words they came to blows, and one senator was killed for appearing too zealous for a peace. The next year, when P. Claudius Pulcher, and L. Junius Pullus, were consuls, proved still more unfortunate for Rome. The former, who had the command of the land-forces, and inherited all the pride and rashness of the Claudian family, no sooner arrived at the camp than he began to defame his predecessors, and reproach the soldiery with indolence and cowardice. Though he had but little knowledge in the art of war, his temper put him upon projects which required great skill in military affairs; and he was too

*The siege
turned into
a blockade.*

^z Polyb. lib. i. cap. 45—48. Diod. Sicul. ibid. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 15.

proud to take advice. He had scarce assumed the command of the army, when, without consulting the other officers, he formed a design of surprising Drepanum, where Adherbal, an able captain, commanded for the Carthaginians. With this view he put to sea in the night, with a fleet of a hundred and twenty gallees that lay before Lilybæum, having on board the flower of his land-forces. Adherbal was surprised, when, at break of day, he discovered the enemy's fleet; but recollecting, that if he suffered the harbour to be blocked up, he must endure all the calamities incident to a siege, he resolved to venture an engagement. He therefore sailed out of the port with a squadron of ninety gallees, and concealed himself behind rocks till the Roman fleet began to enter the mouth of the haven. He then appeared, and, falling upon the enemy's squadron before they could form in line of battle, put them into great confusion. All the Roman officers advised Claudius to return to their former station before Lilybæum; but he being obstinately bent upon engaging, tacked about, and with the utmost difficulty drew up in a line of battle along shore, in such a disadvantageous situation, that, in case of being obliged to give way, his vessels could not escape perishing among the rocks. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, Claudius persisted in his former design of engaging the enemy, not only contrary to the opinion of his officers, but in defiance of the auspices, which it was then thought highly impious to despise; for, when the sacred chickens were consulted in his presence, and refused to feed, he threw them, coop and all, into the sea: "If they will not eat, let them drink," said he; not reflecting, that such a contempt of religion would discourage his troops. Indeed the Romans seemed to have lost their courage in the action which ensued; they made but a faint resistance, and suffered themselves to be boarded by the enemy, and driven either upon the shore or against the rocks. Claudius, who had been so forward to hazard a battle, no sooner saw the victory incline to Adherbal's side, than he retired as fast as he could with thirty gallees, leaving the rest to struggle with the waves, the rocks, and the enemy. The Romans lost ninety gallees in this ill-conducted action. Eight thousand of their men were either killed or drowned, and twenty thousand taken and sent prisoners to Carthage. The Carthaginians gained this signal victory without losing a single man, or one galley^a.

Yr. of Fl.

2111.

Ante Chr.

237.

U. C. 511.

*Claudius
defeated by
the Car-
thaginians.*

^a Polyb. cap. 49. 53. Diod. Sic. ibid. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 10. Val. Max. lib. i. cap. 4. Frontin. Strat. lib. ii. cap. 13.

The news of this fatal action no sooner reached Rome, than Claudius was recalled, and ordered to name a dictator. The proud consul, to insult the senate, and in derision of the laws, nominated to that supreme dignity one of his own clients, named Claudius Glycias, a man of the meanest of the people, who had no other office in the city but that of viator, or tipstaff, to Claudius, during his consulate. This unseasonable jest provoked all orders of men against Claudius. The mock-dictator was forced to abdicate; but the senate allowed him to wear the robe bordered with purple, called *prætecta*, in the theatre and circus, for the rest of his life, for having resigned his dictatorship with a good grace. M. Attilius Calatinus succeeded him, who appointed the famous Cæcilius Metellus general of the horse. Claudius was, after his deposition, tried before the people for his misdemeanors. Some writers say he was condemned; others affirm, that the people were prevented from condemning him, and driven from the forum, by a sudden storm, which they looked upon as a tacit absolution given him by the gods, and therefore did not call him to judgment again^b. But this has the air of a fable, intended to wipe off the stain from the Claudian family, which was in great power at Rome. Polybius says he was tried, and subjected to a very rigorous sentence^c.

*Claudius
deposed
and tried.*

The other consul, Junius Pullus, sailed with a fleet of a hundred and twenty gallies, and eight hundred other vessels, to Syracuse, in order to take in provisions there for the camp before Lilybæum. From Syracuse he sent the quæstors before him, with a squadron, to supply the present wants of the army, while he followed with the rest of the fleet. Adherbal, who carefully watched all the motions of the Roman fleet, no sooner heard that the consul was at sea, than he detached Carthalo from Drepanum with a hundred gallies, ordering him to cruise off Heraclea, and there wait for the Roman fleet and convoys. Receiving intelligence that the Roman squadron appeared at some distance, he prepared to engage them, promising himself a sure victory. The quæstors, dissident of their own strength, sheltered themselves among certain rocks near Phintia, a city subject to the Romans, where Carthalo attacked them, but was not attended with the success he expected, the Romans defending their

*The consul
Junius
passes into
Sicily.*

^b Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. & de Divin. Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. i.

^c Polyb. lib. i. cap. 52.

vessels with balistæ, and other engines, which they had brought from the town, and planted on the shore; so that Carthalo, after having taken only a few transports, retired to a harbour in a neighbouring river, where he came to an anchor, and kept a vigilant eye on the motions of the Roman fleet. While he was thus waiting for the quæstors, he was informed, by the vessels he had sent out to make discoveries, that the consul Junius had, with a numerous fleet, doubled cape Pachynum, and was steering his course for Lilybæum. Upon this important intelligence, he immediately weighed anchor, resolving to give the consul battle, before he could join the quæstor's squadron. He crowded all the sail he could, and came in sight of the consul's fleet off Camerina. But Junius, not caring to hazard a battle, stood in shore, and took sanctuary among the rocks that were next at hand, thinking it more advisable to run some hazard, than expose, by the loss of the fleet, which might be the consequence of a battle, the land-forces to the mercy of the enemy. Carthalo forbore attacking them in so dangerous a post; but, retiring to a place between the two fleets, carefully observed their motions. The Carthaginian pilots, who were well skilled in the weather, and acquainted with those seas and coasts, foreseeing by certain signs that a storm would soon arise, advised Carthalo to weigh anchor, double cape Pachynum, and shelter himself under the opposite shore. Carthalo followed their advice, having with great difficulty doubled the cape, and secured his fleet, while the Roman ships were either dashed against the rocks, or driven upon the coast. Never was there a more complete shipwreck. We are told, that of the consul's fleet, and the quæstor's squadron, which consisted of a hundred and twenty gallies, and eight hundred transports laden with all sorts of provisions and military stores, not one vessel, nay, not a plank was saved^d. Thus Rome was deprived of all her naval force, and once more renounced the empire of the sea. As the Romans, notwithstanding these losses, were still stronger by land, the blockade of Lilybæum was continued. The consul Junius, to repair his misfortune, made an attempt upon Eryx, a place of great strength, situated on the declivity of a mountain, bearing the same name, and the highest in Sicily, except Mount Ætna. He succeeded in his attempt, and surprised the place in the night, by the help of some soldiers, who betrayed it

*The Roman fleet
entirely de-
stroyed.*

*Eryx sur-
prised by
the consul
Junius.*

^d Polyb. lib. i. cap. 54—56. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 830.

to him. To secure this conquest, he built a fort at the foot of the mountain, and placed a garrison in it of eight hundred men. But Carthalo, soon after, made a descent, took the fort by assault, and put the garrison to the sword^e. Some writers say, that Junius was taken prisoner in defending the place^f; others, that he laid violent hands on himself, for fear of being condemned at Rome for his ill conduct^g.

One of the consuls being dead, and the other deposed, the dictator's presence became necessary in Sicily. As from the foundation of Rome no dictator had appeared out of Italy, great things were expected from him: but Attilius performed no remarkable exploits. He gained some small advantages before Lilybæum, and then returned to preside at the elections for the ensuing year; when two were promoted to the consulate, who had enjoyed that dignity once before, C. Aurelius Cotta, and P. Servilius Geminus. The Romans having no fleet, the consuls were ordered to pursue the siege of Lilybæum, and to prevent the Carthaginians from carrying succours or provisions into that place, or into Drepanum. Carthalo finding the Romans every-where upon their guard, he endeavoured to draw one of the consuls out of Sicily, by making a descent upon Italy, and ravaging the provinces belonging to the republic; but upon the first advice that he had landed in Lucania, the prætor of Rome, putting himself at the head of an army, which was immediately raised in the city, forced him to re-embark, and return to Sicily. And now his mercenary troops began to murmur for want of pay, no money having been sent them for some time from Carthage, which was almost entirely exhausted with so long and expensive a war. To put a stop to the mutiny, he punished the most seditious with great rigour: some were transported to desert islands, and left to perish; others were sent to Carthage, and there executed.

This severity provoked even those who were peaceably inclined, inasmuch that, the rebellion becoming general, Carthalo was seasonably recalled, and a commander sent in his room, who became afterwards famous for his implacable hatred to the Romans. This great man was Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, the father of the famous Hannibal, the greatest officer Carthage ever produced. Hamilcar, having appeased the se-

The dictator sent into Sicily.

The new consuls pursue the war in Sicily.

Hamilcar Barcas sent into Sicily.

^e Polyb. lib. i. cap. 36. ^f Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 15. ^g Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii.

action which his predecessor had raised by his unseasonable rigour, failed to Italy, and, more successful than Carthalo, laid waste the territories of the Locrians and Brutians, and returned to Sicily with an immense booty. Having landed his troops, he encamped on a steep rock between Panormus and Eryx, both belonging to the Romans; and from thence making incursions into the lands of the allies of Rome, he so harassed the consuls, that they could make but little progress in the siege of Lilybæum. Hamilcar's campaign was looked upon at Carthage as a masterly piece of conduct. He had subsisted, in opposition to the utmost efforts of the Romans, and at the expence of their allies, between two of their cities, and at a great distance from any place allied to Carthage, and at the same time disconcerted all the measures of the consuls.

*Both the
new con-
suls sent
into Sicily.*

The new consuls, L. Cæcilius Metellus, and Fabius Buteo, were both ordered to Sicily; the former, who had been consul once before, and was so famous for his magnificent triumph, was appointed to carry on the siege of Lilybæum, and his colleague to besiege Drepanum. Hamilcar, by innumerable sallies from his eminence, kept both the consuls employed, and by this conduct prevented them from gaining any considerable advantage during the campaign. He seemed to be every where; his foresight extended to all particulars, and his valour was equal to any attempt^b.

While affairs were in this situation in Sicily, the Romans pillaged the coasts of Africa, with a fleet built and equipped at the expence of private persons; for the republic had laid aside all thoughts of building new galleys, after the losses she had sustained. However, she passed a decree, empowering all her subjects to build, equip, and arm ships at their own charges, to pillage the coast of Africa, and apply all the plunder to their own use. The republic even lent the galleys she had left to private persons, with this proviso only, that they should return them in as good condition as that in which they had received them. This fleet of privateers committed great devastations on the coast of Africa, entered the port of Hippos, set fire to the ships and houses, and put to sea again loaded with rich booty. On their return to Sicily they met a Carthaginian fleet carrying provisions to Hamilcar, and gained a considerable advantage over it. However, the pride of the Romans being now in a good measure abated by their

*A fleet of
Roman
privateers
defeats a
Carthagi-
nian fleet.*

^b Polyb. lib. i. cap. 56. Diodor. Sic. in Excerpt.

late misfortunes, they consented at last to an exchange of prisoners; and they were exchanged man for man. As the Carthaginians had more captives to redeem than the Romans, the latter received money for the overplus, which recruited their exhausted treasury. The number of the Roman citizens appeared, by a census taken this year, to be no more than two hundred and fifty-one thousand two hundred and twenty, which was less, by eighty-six thousand five hundred and seventy-five, than the number taken at the last census: a very considerable diminution, which can only be ascribed to the war^l.

In the following year M. Otacilius Crassus, and M. Fabius Licinus, were created consuls; but they made little or no progress in the siege of Lilybæum, which was the province allotted to them, being daily harassed by parties sent out against them by Hamilcar. As they did not return before the time of their consulate expired, Tib. Coruncanius was appointed dictator, to preside at the election of new magistrates, when M. Fabius Butco, and C. Atilius Bulbus, were chosen consuls. During the consulate of Otacilius and Fabius, a woman of the first rank was severely punished, for dropping some words which betrayed a want of affection for the public. Claudia, the sister of the late Claudius Pulcher, a woman tinctured with the vices of her family, returning in a chariot from a public shew, happened to be pressed in the throng. Thus hampered, she exclaimed, in a transport of rage; "I wish my brother Claudius were alive again, that he might rid Rome, as formerly, of the mob, with which the city is crowded." For these words she was cited by the two ædiles to appear before the tribes; and, notwithstanding all the body of the nobility could urge in her favour, she was forced to appear before the tribunal of the Roman people, and condemned to pay a fine of twenty-five thousand asces of brass, (that is, eighty pounds fourteen shillings and seven pence) which the ædile Sempronius employed in building a little chapel on the hill Aventinus, dedicated to Liberty^k.

Claudia punished for treasonable words against the people.

The two new consuls had no sooner entered upon their office, than they set out for Sicily. The Romans hoped to reduce Lilybæum by famine, and therefore persisted in carrying on the siege: but the brave Hamilcar found means to supply the place with fresh provisions by sea. The same year, the Roman privateers gained a consider-

Hamilcar supplies Lilybæum with provisions.

^l Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 16. Liv. Epit. lib. xix. lib. x. cap. 6. Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 1.

^k Aul. Gel.

The Roman privateers destroyed by a storm.

able victory over a Carthaginian fleet, within sight of the island of Ægimur, near Africa; but were afterwards dashed in pieces by a storm, which drove them against the rocks on the coast of Africa¹.

Notwithstanding all these disappointments, the Romans continued the siege of Lilybæum, and dispatched their two new consuls, A. Manlius Torquatus and C. Sempronius Blæsus, into Sicily, with orders to use their utmost efforts against the place. As it was well supplied with provisions, Hamilcar gave himself no farther trouble about relieving it, or sending in new stores. He was engaged in a design to recover the city of Eryx, formerly taken by the consul Junius. This was a difficult and dangerous enterprize. The city of Eryx stood about the middle of the mountain of that name, and was fortified by art as well as by nature. The Romans were in possession of the temple of Venus Erycina, on the summit of the mountain, and had a fort at the bottom of it, defended by a good garrison. But no difficulty could discourage the Carthaginian general: he set out from his camp in the dead of night, and winding round the mountain in a profound silence, arrived undiscovered at the gates of the city, which he easily forced open, and made himself master of the place. All those who were found under arms he put to the sword, and sent the rest prisoners to Drepanum^m. The war now took another turn: the Romans made it their whole business to dispossess Hamilcar of this advantageous post, and the Carthaginian did all that lay in his power to maintain himself in it. The Romans, who were masters of a fort at the foot of the mountain, besieged him; and he, at the same time, besieged the Romans, who were posted at the top of it, in the temple of Venus.

Yr. of Fl.
216.
Ante Chr.
232.
U. C. 516

Hamilcar takes Eryx.

The victory and address of Hamilcar.

In this post, between two garrisons of the enemy, Hamilcar maintained himself, and amused the Romans, two whole years. This diversion was of great service to his country; for, in the mean time, the siege of Lilybæum advanced but slowly, and that of Drepanum was raised. The new consuls, C. Fundanius Fundulus and C. Sulpicius Gallus, endeavoured in vain to drive Hamilcar from his post. The besieged and the besiegers suffered, each in their turn, all the miseries of war and famine. No day passed without some rencounter. Both parties seemed insensible of pains and fatigues, and bore the inconve-

¹ Flor. lib. ii. cap. 2.

^m Polyb. lib. i. cap. 59.

niencies of hunger and watching, as if their bodies had been proof against pain and hardships. After the consuls had, by many stratagems, attempted in vain to make themselves masters of the disputed city of Eryx, the Gauls, who made up the best part of Hamilcar's garrison, being exhausted with continual fighting, and not receiving their pay, plotted together to put the place into the hands of the Romans: but Hamilcar discovered and defeated their design. However, they delivered up to the consuls an advanced post which they guarded, and entered into their service. This is the first time we read of foreign forces in the pay of the republic, whose armies had hitherto consisted either of Roman citizens, paid by the public, or of Italian allies, maintained by their respective states.

But now the senate, being convinced that the republic could never establish her dominion in Sicily, so long as the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, turned their thoughts anew to the equipment of a fleet, resolving to try fortune a third time, how averse soever she had hitherto been. They proposed to man their vessels with hired troops from foreign countries, that, in case of new misfortunes, Rome might not suffer so great a loss of her own citizens as she had formerly sustained. The great difficulty was how to find money for such an undertaking, the public treasury being quite exhausted. On this occasion, the senators gave to the rest of the citizens an example of zeal for the service of their country. The most wealthy among them built each a quinqueremis at his own expence; others taxed themselves, and a galley was fitted out at the joint expence of three or four: by these means a fleet of two hundred quinqueremes was put to sea by private persons, without any other burden on the republic than that of undertaking to reimburse the private persons, when she should be in a condition to defray that expence. All the vessels that composed this new armament were built upon the model of that light galley, which had been taken from Hannibal the Rhodian^a.

A new Roman fleet built at the expence of private citizens.

The consuls chosen for the new year were C. Lutatius Catulus, and A. Posthumius; but the latter, being at the same time high-priest of Mars, Cæcilius Metellus, at this time pontifex maximus, would not suffer him to exercise any military function; so that he had the bare name of consul. The republic, not thinking it prudent to trust

^a Polyb. lib. i. cap. 60. Zon. lib. viii. cap. 6.

Yr. of Fl.
2118.
Ante Chr.
230.
U. C. 518.

*Drepanum
besieged by
the Ro-
mans.*

*Lutatus
resolves to
venture an
engagement
at sea.*

the command of her armies to one general: and being aware of the inconveniencies which would arise from the too long absence of the prætor, to whom it fell to supply the place of the consul, created a second prætor, that one might be at the head of the army, and the other reside at Rome, for the administration of justice. One of these prætors was to hear causes between citizen and citizen, and the other to decide between citizens and foreigners; whence the former was called prætor urbanus, and the latter, prætor peregrinus. The two prætors chose their provinces by lot, and were themselves chosen, as the consuls, in the comitia, by centuries^o. Valerius Flaccus was the first prætor peregrinus. He embarked on board the new fleet, to make war together with the consul Lutatus in Sicily. They began the campaign with the siege of Drepanum, and soon made a breach in the wall with their engines; which battered the place day and night. As the consul was mounting the breach at the head of his men, he received a dangerous wound in the thigh: being greatly beloved by the soldiers, they all hastened to his relief, and, giving over the attack, carried him back to the camp. After this accident, he did not push on the siege with great vigour: but, being persuaded that the Carthaginian fleet would soon appear, and that a victory at sea would contribute much more than the taking of a single town towards the entire conquest of Sicily, he turned all his thoughts to the disciplining of his men, and preparing them for a naval engagement.

He was not yet cured of his wound, when news were brought him, that a Carthaginian fleet of four hundred ships, under the command of Hanno, had been seen at sea. This powerful armament was the last effort of the African republic. Hanno had on board new levies, arms, money, provisions, and all sorts of stores. His design was, to touch at the port of Eryx before the Romans could have an account of his motions, and to sail from thence in quest of the enemy's fleet, after he had unloaded his vessels, and taken on board the flower of his troops, together with Hamilcar, whose name he thought would fill the Romans with terror. Lutatus, though indisposed, having crossed himself to be carried on board the prætorian galley, immediately ordered the fleet to join the squadron before Lilybæum, and steer their course

directly to the islands called *Ægates*, the place of rendezvous for the enemy's fleet. He had scarce left *Lilybæum*, when he descried the Carthaginian fleet off *Hiera*, shaping their course to *Eryx*; and ordered the commanders of his vessels to prepare for a battle. The wind was then favourable for the Romans; but it changed all on a sudden, and at the same time the sea began to run very high. However, the consul, after having been some time in suspense, and undetermined what to do, resolved not to defer the engagement one moment. "After all, (said he), we shall have a greater advantage in fighting with ships that are heavy laden, than disadvantage in the roughness of the sea. If *Hanno* carries his fleet to *Eryx*, takes *Hamilcar* on board, embarks his brave mercenaries, and gets rid of these new recruits, the success will be more doubtful, and the victory longer disputed." Upon these considerations, *Lutatius* formed his line of battle, and made directly towards the enemy. As the Carthaginians were on this occasion inferior to the Romans in every thing, except the number of their ships, the dispute was soon decided. The Romans routed them at the first onset. Fifty of the Carthaginian vessels were sunk, and seventy taken, with all the mariners and soldiers they had on board. The rest, by an uncommon instance of good fortune, made their escape; for the wind, which had hitherto been favourable to the Carthaginians in their voyage to *Sicily*, changed all on a sudden, and favoured their escape. After the battle, the consul steered his course to *Lilybæum*, to dispose of the money, arms, provisions, and the prisoners he had taken, who were at least ten thousand in number. Such was the battle of the *Ægades*, which determined the fate of *Sicily*.

The Romans gain a victory at sea.

Hamilcar was the first who felt the effects of this signal defeat. The consul *Lutatius* had no sooner disposed of his booty and captives, than he marched against him, and, in several skirmishes, killed above two thousand of his men; so that the African, having no longer any hopes of succour, was forced to capitulate. The Romans, elated with their late victory, insisted upon his passing under the yoke with his garrison; but he rejected the proposal with the utmost indignation, protesting, that he would rather suffer all extremities, than submit to such an indignity, or abandon a place with disgrace, which he had so long defended with honour. While he was treat-

Hamilcar capitulates.

*A peace
concluded
between
Rome and
Carthage.*

ing with the consul, he received full powers from his republic to do whatever he judged to be most for her interest. Being thus appointed mediator between Carthage and Rome, he considered that Carthage was too much exhausted to maintain her conquests in Sicily; and therefore thought it more adviseable to yield the island by a treaty of peace, than to be driven shamefully out of it, and at the same time expose Africa to the ravages of a victorious fleet. For this purpose, therefore, he sent deputies to Lutatius, who received them with great joy, being desirous to put an end to the war before his consulship expired, that his successors might not have the glory of finishing a work which had cost so much blood and labour.

Conditions.

Both parties being thus disposed to pursue the same end, after some slight difficulties, the consul drew up the following articles, while he lay before Eryx, as the terms of a peace between the two republics. "There shall be peace and friendship between Rome and Carthage upon the following conditions, if they are approved by the people of Rome. 1. The Carthaginians shall evacuate all the places which they have in Sicily, and entirely quit the island. 2. They shall in twenty years pay the Romans, at equal payments every year, two thousand two hundred talents of silver, (that is, four hundred thirty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.) 3. They shall restore the Roman captives and deserters without ransom, and redeem their own prisoners with money. 4. They shall not make war upon Hiero, king of Syracuse, or his allies." These articles being agreed on, Hamilcar surrendered Eryx, upon condition that all his soldiers should march out with him upon his paying for each of them eighteen Roman denarii. Hostages were given on both sides, and this long war concluded with a truce^a. The only thing now remaining was to get these articles confirmed by the Roman people assembled in the comitia, they being the sole arbiters of peace and war. For this purpose both Lutatius and Hamilcar sent deputies to Rome. The republic, though overjoyed at the consul's success, was dissatisfied with the too easy terms he had granted the Carthaginians; and therefore appointed ten commissioners to treat personally with Hamilcar, and demand farther advantages. These, after having thoroughly informed themselves of the state of affairs, added to

^a Polyb. lib. i. cap. 62. Zonar. lib. vii. cap. 17. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 11.

the former articles two more; namely, "1. That a thousand talents should be paid immediately, and the two thousand two hundred in the space of ten years, at equal payments. 2. That the Carthaginians should quit all the little islands about Italy and Sicily, and never more come near them with ships of war, or raise mercenaries in those places." Necessity obliged Hamilcar to consent to these new terms; but he returned to Carthage with an hatred to the Romans, which he did not even suffer to die with him, but left as an inheritance to his son, the famous Hannibal. It may be justly said of Hamilcar, that his country had never yet produced a general equal to him in valour and prudence. He always conquered as long as his republic could support him, and only sunk in the common misfortunes of his country.

*Character
of Hamil-
car.*

Next year the consul Lutatius, and the prætor Valerius, who had acted as his colleague, were continued in Sicily, the first in quality of proconsul, and the second in that of proprætor, while the two new consuls, Q. Lutatius Cerco, and A. Manlius Atticus, marched an army into Hetruria to quell a sudden rebellion of the Falisci, who had affronted a tribune of the people, and revolted. The two consuls were therefore ordered to enter Hetruria, and bring the Falisci back to their duty. The rebels did not confine themselves to the defence of their city, but, taking the field, fought two pitched battles in the space of six days. The success of the first was pretty equal; but the second turned so much to their disadvantage, that they were obliged to lay down their arms, and deliver up their city to the conquerors, after they had lost fifteen thousand men. Their capital, situated on an inaccessible mountain, was rased; but they were allowed to build a new city in the plain; their arms, horses, part of their moveables, and half their lands, were confiscated*. From Hetruria the consuls returned to Rome, and from thence passed over into Sicily to put the last hand to the peace, which was ratified by the solemn sacrifice of a sow, and the mutual oaths of the two nations. Thus ended the first Punic war, the longest and most memorable which had ever been waged till that time. It had lasted four-and-twenty years, during which time the conquerors lost seven hundred ships, and the conquered only five hundred.

*The re-
volted Fa-
lisci sub-
dued.*

*The first
Punic war
ended.*

The great affair at Rome was to determine the fate of Sicily, the manner in which it should be governed, and

* Liv. in Epit. lib. xix.

Yr. of Fl.
219.
Ante Chr.
229.
U. C. 519.

*Sicily made
a Roman
province.*

the emoluments which the republic should draw from so valuable a conquest. The whole island, except the kingdom of Syracuse, was declared a Roman province, to be governed by Roman laws, and Roman magistrates. A prætor was sent annually thither to be governor and judge in civil causes, and a quæstor to receive the revenues of the republic. These revenues were either fixed or casual. The fixed were called tributes, and consisted of a certain sum of money, which the province was every year to pay into the public treasury. The casual were the tenths of the product of the lands, and the duties upon merchandize exported and imported. Certain officers, called publicans, generally chosen out of the body of the Roman knights, were appointed to levy both these sorts of taxes; and the latter sort were farmed by the publicans at a certain annual rent, which they constantly paid the republic at all events. However, these fixed revenues did not hinder the Romans from often demanding of the provinces extraordinary supplies of men, ships, and corn. There were now but two sovereigns in the whole island, Hiero, and the Romans; and, as there reigned a perfect union between them, the Sicilians enjoyed all the blessings of an uninterrupted peace.

Sicily being thus settled in perfect tranquility, the two consuls, Lutatius Cerco, and Manlius Atticus, the proconsul Lutatius Catulus, and the prætor Valerius, returned to Rome with their troops, to receive there the honourable reward of their labours. The proconsul and prætor triumphed for the naval victory at the Ægades, and the consuls enjoyed the same honour for having vanquished the Falisci in Hetruria.

*The public
joy damped
by two mis-
fortunes.*

The joy of the people of Rome for their late prosperity was much damped by two dreadful misfortunes, which followed close upon one another. The Tiber on a sudden overflowed with such violence, as to overturn a great many houses in the lower grounds; and the water continued stagnated so long in the forum, as greatly to damage the foundations of the buildings in that quarter. After this inundation, a fire broke out in the upper city, and thence spread as far as the forum. Rome, says Livy[†], lost more wealth in one day than she had got by many victories. The temple of Vesta was not exempted from the common misfortune, and the most ancient monuments of religion would have been destroyed, had not Cæcilius

[†] Liv. in Epit. lib. xix.

Metellus, then pontifex maximus, ventured his life to save them. He made his way through the flames, went into the sanctuary where the palladium was kept, and saved it from the fire; an action more celebrated in history than the glorious victory which he gained over the Carthaginians at the head of a consular army. One of his arms was greatly injured in the attempt; and he entirely lost his eye-sight. This heroical action procured him a mark of distinction, which had never before been granted to any man; he was allowed to be drawn to the senate-house in a chariot^u. This year the tribes were probably augmented to thirty-five, by the addition of the tribes Velina and Quirina. It is certain at least, that from this time the tribes were reckoned to be thirty-five, which number was never afterwards increased. The consular year was closed with a census, made by the censors Aurelius Cotta, and Fabius Buteo; and, unless there be some mistake in the cyphers, Eusebius reckons up but one hundred and sixty thousand citizens able to bear arms. If his numbers are right, a prodigious multitude of citizens must have perished by the inundation and fire.

*Metellus
signalizes
his zeal.*

The new consuls, C. Claudius Centho and M. Sempromnius Tuditanus, having no employment abroad, turned their thoughts to the securing of their frontiers against the Gauls and Ligurians, by planting colonies in their neighbourhood (K). The following consulship of C. Mamilius Turinus and Q. Valerius Falto proved an interval of peace. The Romans were inclined to take arms anew against the Carthaginians, who, having seized some of their merchants carrying arms and provisions to the revolted mercenaries, had made five hundred of them prisoners, and thrown some of them into the sea; but they were appeased by a respectful embassy from Carthage,

*Colonies
planted
near Gaul
and Ligu-
ria.*

^u Plin. lib. vii. cap. 43. Val. Max. lib. i. cap. iv.

(K) In the first year after the Punic war Livius Andronicus, the reformer of the Roman stage, appeared at Rome. He introduced connected fables after the Greek manner, instead of the buffoonries with which the people to that time had been entertained. He was the freedman of Marcus Livius Salina-

tor, whose children he had educated. His poetry was grown obsolete in Cicero's time; and, in the judgement of that orator, would not bear a second reading. Andronicus flourished about a hundred and fifty years after the death of Euripides and Sophocles, and fifty-two after that of Menander.

and

and continued faithful to the treaty of peace, though the city of Utica, which had declared for the rebels, would have submitted to Rome, and the mercenaries, who had seized Sardinia, invited them to take possession of that island (L).

Good understanding between Rome and Carthage.

Carthage, during her war with the revolted mercenaries, affected to pay a great deference to Rome, and even released all the Italian merchants, who had been taken in carrying arms and provisions to the rebels. The Romans were so well pleased with this instance of respect, that they sent to Carthage, without ransom, all the Carthaginian prisoners, who were still detained at Rome, prohibited their merchants all intercourse and traffic with the rebels, and allowed them to supply the Carthaginians with arms, provisions, and whatever they wanted*. Notwithstanding the sincere friendship which seemed to subsist at this time between the two republics, Hamilcar had no sooner, by his valour and conduct, put an end to the rebellion at home, than he turned all his thoughts to the humbling of a republic whose interests were so opposite to those of his country. As Carthage was not then in a condition to renew the war with Rome, he formed two schemes, which, if wisely pursued, might have crushed the impetuous republic, or at least brought her upon a level with Carthage. The first was, to extend the Carthaginian dominions in Spain, that his republic might be able to raise within her own dominions a sufficient num-

Schemes formed by Hamilcar against Rome.

* Zon. lib. viii. cap. 17. Polyb. lib. i. cap. 83.

(L) About this time Ennius, the famous poet, was born at Rudes, an ancient city of Calabria near Tarentum. He was the inventor of hexameter verse among the Latins, though the Greek was his mother-tongue. The life of Scipio Africanus, which he wrote in choreics, was his master-piece. By this work he gained the affection of the Cornelian family, who shewed their gratitude to him even after his death, depositing his ashes in the same tomb with those of Scipio Africanus, and erecting a marble statue to him near the statue of that great commander. Besides the life of Scipio, he wrote the history of Rome in eighteen books, recording in verse the events of which he himself had been witness. His poem was a history in verse. The poet Nævius, who was his contemporary, after having made some campaigns in the first Punic war, wrote the history of that war in verse, according to the taste of those times (1).

(1) Aul. Gell. lib. iii.

ber of forces to oppose those multitudes of soldiers with which Italy furnished the Romans. The second was, to educate his son Hannibal in such a manner, that he should inherit his valour, his experience, and his hatred to the Romans, and steadily pursue his designs. Before he passed the streights, known then by the name of the Pillars of Hercules, in order to make war in Spain, he took an opportunity to inspire his son, though but nine years old, with his own sentiments. At a solemn sacrifice offered to Jupiter, he took his son by the hand, and, leading him to the altar, asked him, whether he was willing to attend him in his Spanish expedition. The courageous boy not only consented to go, but conjured his father by the gods present to form him to victory, and teach him the art of conquering. "That I will joyfully do, replied Hamilcar, and with all the care of a father who loves you, if you will swear upon the altars, to be an eternal enemy to the Romans." Hannibal readily complied with the motion; and the solemnity of the ceremony made such an impression upon his mind, as nothing afterwards could ever efface. He then first imbibed that hatred for Rome which ended only with his life.

Hannibal swears to be an eternal enemy to the Romans.

In the following consulship of C. Manlius Turinus and Q. Valerius Falto, nothing memorable happened. During the consulate of their successors, T. Sempronius Gracchus and P. Valerius Falto, the Italic Gauls, called Boii, who had been subdued by the Romans before the first Punic war, threw off the yoke, and joined the Falisci in Etruria. The Ligures were also in motion, and seemed to threaten the republic with an approaching war; the consuls therefore divided their forces. Valerius, who marched against the Gauls, was defeated with the loss of three thousand five hundred men. Upon advice of this defeat, M. Genucius Cipus, one of the prætors, was dispatched from Rome with a reinforcement for the consul. Valerius, looking upon this appointment as a personal affront, resolved to conquer the enemy before the succours arrived, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, he attacked the Gauls with such fury, that he killed fourteen thousand, and took two thousand prisoners. However, this victory did not procure him a triumph, because he had by his rashness exposed the Roman army to the danger of a second defeat. Sempronius, the other consul, gained a battle against the Ligurians; but had not time to pursue his victory, being by the republic ordered into Sardinia.

Yr. of Fl.
2122.
Ante Chr.
226.
U. C. 522.

This island had been formerly subdued by the Romans, but soon after returned under the dominion of its ancient masters. The revolted mercenaries had seized it, and offered to put the Romans in possession, in order to engage their assistance. Rome made it then a point of honour not to side with the rebels; but this scrupulous point of honour was of short duration. As this island was of great importance, and had never been formally yielded to the Carthaginians, the senate thought they might justly claim it by right of conquest. They therefore sent, on trifling pretences, Sempronius, with a fleet, to take possession of it. The consul, on his arrival, acquainted the Carthaginian commander, that if his republic did not immediately withdraw her troops from Sardinia, and relinquish all pretensions to that island, he would, in the name of the senate and people of Rome, declare war with Carthage. The Carthaginians, who had just ended the war with the mercenaries, were so alarmed at this declaration of a consul at the head of an army, that they readily gave up all claims to Sardinia for ever. This renunciation did not satisfy the consul; he obliged them to defray the charges of his armament, and pay the farther sum of twelve hundred talents: an instance of extortion which contributed to confirm Hamilcar in his hatred to the Romans, and to render Hannibal inexorable in the wars which we shall soon see him carry on with great spirit in Italy^z.

The Romans recover Sardinia.

The new consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, pursued the war with the Gauls and Ligurians, in which they were attended with success while the two consular armies encamped together; but the love of glory and booty having induced them to separate, Fulvius, who had entered the country of the Gauls bordering on the Po, was obliged to continue in his intrenchment, and there pass a melancholy and shameful campaign, under continual apprehensions of a surprize. Cornelius succeeded against the Ligurians nearest to Hetruria; for in one action he killed twenty-four thousand of the enemy, and took five thousand prisoners. For this victory he was honoured with a triumph^a.

The Ligurians defeated.

The new consuls, P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus and C. Licinius Varus, were obliged to take the field against the Gauls, whose chiefs, depending on the multitudes of men they had assembled, and the expectation of a strong reinforcement from the other side of the Alps, demanded

^z Polyb. lib. i. cap. 33, 39. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Triumph.

^a Tab.

the restitution of Ariminum from the Romans. The consuls, not having their troops complete, referred the affair to the senate, and in the mean while proposed a truce to the Gauls, who readily consented to the proposal, upon the news they received, that a formidable army of Transalpine Gauls, under the conduct of Atys and Galatius, two generals, or rather kings, were in full march to join them. This army was so numerous, that it gave no small jealousy to the Italian Gauls, who thereupon turned their arms against those who were come to assist them, killed their two leaders, and put the whole body to flight. The enemy having thus defeated their own allies, Lentulus, with one consular army brought both the Boii and Ligurians to reason, depriving the former of a part of their territory, and taking several strong places from the latter. In the mean time Varus was preparing to pass into the island of Corsica, which, by the secret intrigues of the Carthaginians, had been induced to shake off the Roman yoke. The consul, not finding a fleet ready to transport his whole army, was forced to send a squadron before him under the command of that Claudius Glycias who had been formerly named dictator in derision. He had since that time been honoured with several military employments, and always distinguished himself among the troops. When he saw himself at the head of part of the consular army, swelled with ambition, he thought it would be much to his honour to gain this island to the republic without bloodshed; and therefore, without the consent of the consul or senate, he made a shameful peace with the Corsicans. The consul, on his arrival, disannulled the treaty, renewed the war, and subdued the island by force of arms. Claudius was delivered up to the Corsicans, whom he drew, said they, into a bloody war, by a fallacious peace. In which sentence the senate had likewise the farther view of preventing the reproach which might have been cast upon the consul for having made war upon a people who depended on the faithful execution of a treaty. The Corsicans had more honour than to treat him with severity: they sent him back to Rome, where he was put to death in prison; and then his body, being carried to the top of the steps, called *Scalæ Gemoniæ* (M),

was

*Claudius
Glycias
sent into
Corsica.*

*Corsica
subdued.*

(M) The *Gemoniæ* was a place appointed either for torturing criminals, or for receiving their dead bodies after their execution. It was on the hill *Aventinus*, and there were several steps which led up to it; whence it had the

was dragged by an iron hook from thence to the Tiber, into which it was thrown ^b.

The Carthaginians secretly excite the Sardinians to revolt ;

but pacify the Romans.

The execution of Claudius did not appease the Corsicans, who had been amused by a treaty of peace, that Rome might have the better opportunity of subduing them by a war. They communicated their discontents to the Sardinians, who, being influenced by the Carthaginians, attempted to shake off the Roman yoke. The republic had too much penetration not to see from whence the blow came, and was less concerned at the loss of the two islands, than at the renewal of a war with a powerful republic ; but the senators were all of opinion, that, if it was really necessary to come to an open rupture with Carthage, war could not be declared too soon. Preparations were accordingly made at Rome, and all over Italy, for beginning it with vigour. Carthage, alarmed at these preparations, sent ambassadors to negotiate an accommodation ; but the Romans answered them only with reproaches. At length she dispatched ten of her principal men for the same end, among whom was one Hanno, a young lord of great spirit and vivacity : enraged at the haughty answers of the proud republic, he exclaimed, with a lofty air, " If you are resolved to break the treaty, reinstate us in the condition we were in before it was concluded ; restore us the cities we possessed in Sicily. These we paid for the peace, which, it was agreed, should be perpetual ; otherwise you have made us pay very near for this short truce. Equity ought to prevail over avarice. Would not that trader be thought unjust, who, after he had renounced his bargain, should keep both the money and the merchandize ?" This discourse filled the senators with confusion, who, being either really just, or affecting to appear so, dismissed the Carthaginian ambassadors with the strongest assurances of peace ^c.

The new consuls, C. Attilius Bulbus, and T. Manlius Torquatus, drew lots for their provinces. The former continued in Italy, while the latter, by a few slight engagements, recovered Sardinia, and made it tributary ;

^b Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 3. Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Zon. lib. viii.

^c Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 12.

name of Scalæ Gemoniæ. The iron hook ; and, after they had been some time exposed to public view, thrown into the Tiber were dragged thither with an (2).

(2) Vide Plin. lib. viii. cap. 40.

but without reducing it to the form of a Roman province. And now, peace prevailing every where, the temple of Janus was shut for the first time since the reign of Numa Pompilius. But this tranquility lasted only a few months. The consuls for the following year, L. Posthumius Albinus, and Sp. Carvilius, were obliged to raise new forces to act against the Sardinians, Corsicans, and Ligurians, who had engaged, by mutual treaties, to assist each other. The consul Carvilius was employed against the Corsicans, whom he soon reduced. The prætor Cornelius made war with the Sardinians; but the bad air and water of Sardinia produced an infection in his army, and he himself was carried off by the contagion; which accident would have ruined the affairs of the republic here, had not Carvilius transported his legions thither from Corsica. Upon his arrival, the rebels ventured to oppose him in the field; but the consul had all the advantage over them which disciplined troops have over confused multitudes. The Sardinians were defeated; and, by one victory, the whole island was brought under subjection. The consul Posthumius, whose province it was to reduce the Ligurians, historians inform us, had all the success he could have desired ^d.

Yr. of Fl.
2125.
Ante Chr.
223.
U. C. 525.

*The temple
of Janus
shut.*

*Sardinia
reduced.*

In this consulship the censors, observing the number of citizens to be considerably lessened, and imputing it to men's marrying only with a view to interest, and afterwards deserting their wives, and carrying on unlawful intrigues with other women, obliged all the citizens to swear, that they would not marry with any other view besides that of encreasing the subjects of the republic. This oath raised many scruples, and caused many ruptures between husbands and wives. Among the rest, one Carvilius Ruga, a man of distinction, thought himself bound by his oath to divorce his wife, whom he passionately loved, because she was barren. Accordingly he put her away, and married another. This is the first instance of a divorce since the foundation of Rome, though divorces were allowed by the laws of marriage settled by the first kings. In the sequel they became scandalously frequent, as a corruption of manners prevailed in the republic. And now marriage-contracts were introduced, to secure women's portions in case of divorce ^e. This same year a Vestal, named Tutia, was condemned to be buried alive for an intrigue with a slave; but she prevented the execution of the

*A new oath
concerning
marriages.*

*The first
divorce.*

^d Liv. in Epit. lib. xx. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 12. ^e Gel. lib. iv. cap. 3. & lib. xvii. cap. 21.

sentence, laying violent hands on herself. In the present consulship, the poet Nævius introduced the first regular comedy after the Greek manner on the Latin stage.

The Sardinians and Ligurians take up arms.

Misunderstanding between Rome and Carthage.

In the following consulate of M. Pomponius Matho, and Q. Fabius Maximus, surnamed Verrucosus, from a wart or wen upon his lip, the Sardinians and Ligurians were once more in arms. It fell to Fabius's lot to make war with the latter; and he drove them out of the plain country, and obliged them to take shelter among the Alps (N). As for his colleague Pomponius, he sailed for Sardinia, where he found, that the frequent revolts of that island were owing to the intrigues of the Carthaginians, whose ships were continually passing from Carthage to Sardinia and the other islands, and inspiring the people wherever they came with a hatred to the Roman name. In order, therefore, to sound their sentiments, the senate sent an embassy to Carthage, under pretence of demanding the sums they had stipulated to pay the Roman republic. The deputies were ordered to add threats of renewing the war, in case the Carthaginian ships presumed to touch at any port belonging to the Roman state. The Carthaginians, flushed with the success of Hamilcar in Spain, not being moved by these menaces, the deputies, pursuant to their instructions, presented them a caduceus, the symbol of peace, and a little javelin, the emblem of war, saying, "Take your choice." The Carthaginian dictator answered, that he was ready to take which they should think fit to leave him. However, this haughty answer did not absolutely destroy the treaties between Rome and Carthage, but raised such mutual distrusts, as we shall soon see break out into a flame. Pomponius gained some advantages over the Sardinians, for which he was honoured with a triumph^f.

A new tribunal instituted.

The Romans, at this time, instituted a new tribunal of justice, at the motion of two tribunes of the people, both Æbutii. As the two prætors, who were often obliged to take the field, could not dispatch all civil affairs, which multiplied in proportion to the increase of the re-

^f Tab. Triumph. Zon. lib. viii. cap. 18.

(N) This is that Fabius, whom we shall soon see restoring, at the head of the Roman army, the affairs of his distressed country by his wise delays. He had the surname of Maximus from his great-grandfather Fabius Rullus. In his infancy he was called ovicula, or the *little sheep*, on account of his natural docility, and sweetness of temper.

(1) Plut. in Fab.

public,

public, it was enacted, that three able and judicious men should be chosen out of each tribe, and form a new tribunal, subordinate to the prætor. These new judges were called *centumviri*, though they were one hundred and five in number, and were divided into four courts or chambers. The causes, which fell under their cognizance, were such as related to proscriptions, guardianships, last wills, inheritances, &c. This tribunal subsisted ever after in Rome; and the judges, though in after-ages increased to the number of one hundred and eighty, still continued to be called *centumviri*. *The centumviri.*

In the following consulate of M. Æmilius Lepidus, and M. Publicius Malleolus, Flaminius, tribune of the people, made a motion to pass a law for distributing a fruitful country, lately taken from the Gauls, among the poor citizens. The patricians, who had always opposed motions of this kind, united their strength to hinder the passing of this law; but neither the threats of the consuls, nor the intreaties of the senate, nor the tears of old Flaminius, whom the patricians had gained over to their party, could prevail on the tribune to desist from pursuing his point. On the day appointed for proposing the law to the people, he mounted the rostra, and began to harangue the multitude with great warmth; but, while he was speaking, his father appeared, ascended the rostra, and, taking the hot-headed tribune by the arm, ordered him to follow him home. Flaminius, without pleading either his dignity, or the actual exercise of his office, obeyed his father, and abandoned the business he was so intent upon, when it was almost finished; and, what is most extraordinary, not a murmur was heard in the whole assembly, which immediately dispersed^b. Afterwards the tribune Carvilius revived it, and succeeded: but the distribution of lands among the Romans, which had for many years belonged to the Gauls, so provoked that nation, that they began a war which afterwards endangered Rome itself.

In the following year the consuls, M. Pomponius Matho, and C. Papirius Maso, finished the conquest of Sardinia and Corsica, which they reduced to the form of a Roman province. Pomponius continued in the new province, which consisted of both islands, all the next year,

Yr. of Fl.
2129.
Ante Chr.
219.
U. C. 529.

^a Aul. Gel. lib. xvi. cap. 10. Pomp. de Orig. Juris. Plin. Jun. lib. v. Epist. Cic. lib. i. de Orat. ^b Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 4. Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 109.

*Corfica
and Sardi-
nia made a
Roman
province.*

and governed it in quality of prætor. Papirius, who had subdued Corfica, returned to Rome, where he found, that a dictator had been created to hold the comitia for electing new consuls. He demanded a triumph; but not having interest enough to obtain it, he took a method entirely new to do himself justice, by marching at the head of his victorious army to the temple of Jupiter Latialis, on the hill of Alba, with all the pomp that attended triumphant victories at Rome. There was no other alteration in the ceremony, but that of wearing a crown of myrtle instead of laurel, and this on account of his having defeated the Corficans in a place where there was a grove of myrtles. The example of Papirius was afterwards followed by a great many generals, to whom the senate refused triumphs^b.

*Occasion of
the war
with the
Illyrians.*

Next year, when M. Æmilius Barbula, and M. Junius Pera were consuls, a new war sprung up in a kingdom out of Italy. Illyricum, properly so called, which bordered upon Macedon and Epirus, was at this time governed by Teuta, the widow of king Agron, and guardian to her son Pinaus. The success of her late husband against the Ætolians had elated her to such a degree, that, instead of settling the affairs of her ward in peace, she commanded her subjects to cruise along the coast, seize all the ships they met, take what places they could, and spare no nation. Her pirates had, pursuant to her orders, taken and plundered many ships belonging to Roman merchants; and her troops were then besieging the island of Issa in the Adriatic, though the inhabitants were under the protection of the republic. Upon the complaints of the Italian merchants, and, in order to protect the people of Issa, the senate sent two ambassadors to the Illyrian queen, Lucius and Caius Coruncanius, to demand, that she would restrain her subjects from infesting the sea with piracies. She answered them haughtily, that she could only promise, that her subjects should not for the future attack the Romans in her name, and by public authority: but as for any thing more, "It is not customary with us, (said she), to lay restraints on our subjects; nor will we forbid them to reap those advantages from the sea which it offers them." "Your customs then, (replied the youngest of the ambassadors), are very different from our's. At Rome we make public examples of those subjects who injure others, whether at home or abroad. Teuta, we can, by

^b Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 6. Fast. Capit.

our arms, force you to reform the abuses of your bad government." These unseasonable threatenings provoked Teuta, who was naturally a proud and imperious woman, to such a degree, that, without regard to the rights of nations, she caused the ambassadors to be murdered on their return home.

*The Roman
ambassa-
dors assas-
sinated.*

When so notorious an infraction of the law of nations was known at Rome, the people demanded vengeance; and the senate, having first honoured the manes of the ambassadors, by erecting, as was usual in such cases, statues three feet high to their memory, ordered a fleet to be equipped, and troops raised, with all possible expedition. Teuta, reflecting on the enormity of her proceedings, sent an embassy to Rome, assuring the senate, that she had no concern in the murder of the ambassadors, and offered to deliver up to the republic those who had committed that barbarous assassination. The Romans, being at that time threatened with a war from the Gauls, were ready to accept this satisfaction; but in the mean time the Illyrian fleet having gained some advantage over that of the Achæans, and taken the island of Corcyra near Epirus, Teuta began to believe herself invincible, and forgot the promise she had made to the Romans; she even sent her fleet to seize on the island of Issa, which the Romans had taken under their protection ¹.

*She seizes
on the
island of
Issa.*

Upon this fresh provocation, the consuls for the new year, P. Posthumius Albinus and Cn. Fulvius Centumalius, embarked for Illyricum, Fulvius having the command of the fleet, which consisted of a hundred galleys, and Posthumius of the land-forces, which amounted to twenty thousand foot, besides a small body of horse. Fulvius appeared with his fleet before Corcyra in the Adriatic, and was put in possession both of the island and city by Demetrius of Pharos, governor of the place for queen Teuta. The same governor found means to make the inhabitants of Apollonia expel the Illyrian garrison, and admit into their city the Roman troops. As Apollonia was one of the keys of Illyricum on the side of Macedonia, the consuls who had acted hitherto jointly, no sooner saw themselves in possession of it, than they separated, the fleet cruising along the coast, and the army penetrating into the heart of the queen's dominions. The Andyræans, Parthini, and Atintanes, voluntarily submitted to Posthumius, being induced, by the persuasions of Demetrius, to

*The consuls
embark for
Illyricum.*

Take several towns.

¹ Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 96—101. Appian. in Illyr. Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Zon. lib. viii.

shake off the Illyrian yoke. The consul, being now in possession of most of the inland towns, returned to the coast, where, with the assistance of the fleet, he took many strong places, among which was Nutria, a place of great strength, defended by a numerous garrison; so that it made a vigorous defence, the Romans having lost before it a great many private men, several legionary tribunes, and one quaestor. However, this loss was repaired by the taking of forty Illyrian vessels, which were returning home laden with booty. At length the Roman fleet appeared before Issa, which, by Teuta's order, was still closely besieged, notwithstanding the losses she had sustained. However, upon the approach of the Roman fleet, the Illyrians dispersed; but the Pharians, who served among them, followed the example of their countryman Demetrius, and joined the Romans, to whom the Issani readily submitted.

Sp. Corvilius and Q. Fabius Maximus being raised to the consulate a second time, Posthumius was recalled from Illyricum, and refused a triumph, for having been too prodigal of the Roman blood at the siege of Nutria. His colleague Fulvius was appointed to command the land-forces in his room, in quality of proconsul. Teuta, who had founded great hopes on the change of the consuls, retired to Rhizon, and from thence early in the spring sent an embassy to Rome. The senate refused to treat with her; but granted the young king a peace upon the following conditions: 1. That he should pay an annual tribute to the republic. 2. That he should surrender part of his dominions to the Romans. 3. That he should never suffer above three of his ships of war at a time to sail beyond Lyffus, a town on the confines of Macedon and Illyricum. The places he yielded to the Romans in virtue of this treaty, were the islands of Corcyra, Issa, and Pharos, the city of Dyrrhachium, and the country of the Atintanes. Soon after this transaction, Teuta, either out of shame, or compelled by a secret article of the treaty, abdicated the regency, and was succeeded by Demetrius. The proconsul, on his return to Rome, was decreed a triumph, which he enjoyed on the tenth of the kalends of the month Quintilis ^k.

Before this foreign war was ended, the Gauls were in motion in Italy, and at the same time the republic was alarmed at the incredible progress the Carthaginians made

The conditions of peace between the Romans and Illyrians.

^k Tab. Triumph.

in Spain. The senate therefore thought it necessary to put a stop to their increase of dominion. To this end they sent a deputation to Carthage, and at the same time to Asdrubal, who had succeeded Hamilcar in the command of the Carthaginian forces in Spain. Carthage, unwilling to give her rival umbrage, agreed to the following articles: 1. That she should not extend her conquests beyond the river Iberus; and, 2. That Saguntum, a city between the Iberus and that part of Spain which belonged to the Carthaginians, should remain free¹.

The new consuls, P. Valerius Flaccus and M. Atilius Regulus, continued inactive the greatest part of their year, though the Gauls were raising troops, and making extraordinary preparations for war. Rome seemed to be afraid to oppose herself to so warlike a nation. At this time a prophecy, pretended to be found in the Sibylline books, was spread about Rome, importing, "That the Gauls and Greeks should one day make themselves masters of it." The new consuls therefore, M. Valerius Messala and L. Apustius Fullo, having consulted the pontifices, to appease the superstitious populace, caused an edict to be published by the decemviri, who had the care of the Sibylline books, commanding two Greeks, a man and a woman, and two Gauls, likewise a man and a woman, to be buried alive in the ox-market. By this inhuman sacrifice they persuaded the credulous multitude, that prophecy was fulfilled, and that the Gauls and Greeks had taken possession of Rome^m. The difficulties, which superstition had raised, being surmounted by this cruel expedient, Rome raised divisions among the Gauls, and found means to gain over to her party the Cenomani and Veneti, two considerable nations among them; but this loss the Gauls repaired with the new levies they made beyond the Alps, where, by their ambassadors, they engaged the Gæsatæ to join them. The Gæsatæ, according to Polybius, were a very warlike people, and ready to fight for any nation that would pay them; whence they had the name of Gæsatæ, that is, *Hirelings*. The consuls Valerius and Apustius spent the greater part of the year in raising troops for their successors; and indeed Rome had never before had so numerous an army. All the nations of Italy, subject to the republic, were obliged to send their quotas. We are told by a respectable historianⁿ, that the number of forces Rome raised on this occasion amounted to eight

A new treaty with the Carthaginians.

Yr. of Fl.
2132.
Ante Chr.
216.
U. C. 532.

The Romans raise a formidable army against the Gauls.

¹ Polyb. *ibid.* Appian. in *Hisp.* ^m Liv. *Epit.* lib. xxii. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 12. Zon. lib. viii. cap. 19. ⁿ Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 111—119.

Italy invaded by the Gauls;

hundred thousand men. Of this incredible multitude two hundred forty-eight thousand foot, and twenty-six thousand six hundred horse, were Romans or Campanians. Nevertheless the Gauls, with only fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, began hostilities, forced a passage through Hetruria, and took their route towards Rome.

In the mean time the republic named L. Æmilius Papus and C. Attilius Regulus to be consuls. The latter was sent into Sardinia, to quiet some commotions, while his colleague took upon him the conduct of the war with the Gauls, who were now joined by the Gætætæ from the other side the Alps, to the number of above two hundred thousand men, commanded by two kings, Concolitanus and Anercestus. The consul Æmilius, not knowing what route the Gætætæ would take, encamped near Ariminum, in order to prevent them from entering the Roman lands by the coasts of the Adriatic Sea. At the same time a prætor, whose name is not mentioned in history, was sent into Hetruria with a body of fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. In the mean time the Gætætæ, having left the coast of the Adriatic to avoid Æmilius's army, crossed Insubria, and joined the troops of their nation in Hetruria; whence this potent army marched straight to Rome. They found means to bring the prætor to a battle, in which they killed six thousand of his men, and obliged the rest to fly in confusion to a neighbouring hill, where they entrenched themselves, but were the next day invested by the Gauls, who attacked their entrenchments with a fury not to be expressed. The Romans, in this distress, defended themselves with resolution, hoping that fortune, which had hitherto espoused their cause, would rescue them out of the hands of so cruel an enemy; and accordingly, an unexpected accident delivered them from death or slavery.

who defeated the Romans.

Æmilius marches against them.

The consul, Æmilius, being informed that the Gauls were in full march to Rome, had left his camp at Ariminum in order to cover the city. As he drew near Fæsulæ, he received an account of the advantage the Gauls had gained over the prætor's army, and of the deplorable condition to which he was reduced. Upon this advice he immediately commanded the legions to advance in good order to the enemy's camp, while he himself led the cavalry to the foot of the hill, which the Gaulish cavalry kept closely invested. The Gauls were so alarmed at the unexpected arrival of the consular army, that they decamped in great confusion, in order to return home through Insubria, and secure the booty and wealth they had amassed. In their march they kept along the
shore

shore of the Heturian Sea ; and Æmilius, strengthening his army with the remains of the prætor's troops, followed them close, with a design rather to harass than engage them ; but it luckily happened, that Attilius, having put a speedy end to the troubles of Sardinia, had, on his return home, landed his army at Pifa, and was now marching along the shore towards Rome, not expecting to find an enemy. He was overjoyed when he learned the situation of affairs ; and, in order to intercept the Gauls, he drew up his troops near Telamon, a little port in Heturia, making as wide a front as he could. With his cavalry he posted himself on an eminence, over which the enemy must necessarily pass. The Gauls, imagining that this body of Roman horse was a detachment from Æmilius's army, sent some squadrons to attack it. Æmilius knew not that his colleague was so near ; he had only learned, that he had left Sardinia, and was arrived at Pifa ; but as soon as he perceived at a distance the two armies engaged, he immediately concluded, that Attilius was attacking the enemy in front, and detached some squadrons to his relief. Then the attack was renewed with more vigour than ever. The consul Attilius, who distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, was killed ; and his head, stuck on the top of a lance, was carried through all the files of the enemy's army. But the death of this brave man proved of no advantage to them : one of his lieutenants took his place, and the battle was continued with the same ardour and resolution. While the Gaulish cavalry was engaged with that of the Romans on the top of the hill, their infantry had time to form in the plain. As they were to oppose two consular armies, one of which was to attack them in front, and the other in the rear, they disposed their troops so, that one part of them faced the consul Æmilius, and the other fronted the army which Attilius had commanded. In the first line, opposite Æmilius, were placed the Gæsatæ, and behind them the Insubres : at the head of the other body were the Taurini, and behind them the several nations of the Gauls, who dwelt on both sides the Po. This second army faced the legions which Attilius had brought from Sardinia, and turned their backs to the other. By this disposition the Gauls supported each other, and could neither fly nor retreat.

They are met by another Roman army.

Attilius killed by the Gauls.

Before the action, the Gæsatæ, observing that the plain, on which they were going to engage, was covered with brambles and bushes, and fearing they might, by entangling their cloaths, prevent them from using their arms with

*The Gauls
engage
with great
fury;*

with freedom, stripped themselves naked, and in that manner advanced against the Romans, who were greatly surpris'd at that sight. The attack began with great shouts, while the air, at the same time, resounded with an infinite number of horns and trumpets, which were much used by the Gauls. The Romans, who engaged the Gæfatæ, kept at a distance, and made a dreadful slaughter with the showers of darts they discharged upon them. Naked as they were they kept their ground, till the greater part of those who fought in the first line were either killed or wounded. Then the rest began to retire; a circumstance which occasioned some confusion, and encouraged the legionaries to advance, and attack them sword in hand. The Gauls behaved with great resolution; and though their arms were inferior to those of the Romans, yet they stood the shock, till the Roman cavalry which had been engaged on the hill, attacked them in flank. Then the defeat of the Gauls was general; forty thousand of them were killed on the spot, and above ten thousand taken prisoners, with Concolitanus, one of their kings. Aneræstus, the other king, and the most experienced commander among the Gauls, escaped to a neighbouring village, where he laid violent hands on himself, as did most of the officers who attended him.

*but are
utterly de-
feated.*

After this victory, Æmilius, now sole commander of the two armies, marched along the borders of Heturia; and, entering the territories of the Boii, gave up that fruitful country to be plundered by his soldiers. When they were loaded with booty, he began his march to Rome. As he passed through Heturia, he restored to the owners all the plunder the Gauls had taken from them. He entered Rome in triumph on the third of the nones of March; and as his victory was one of the most important the republic had ever gained, his triumphal procession was one of the most pompous and magnificent. The triumphant victors generally stripped the captives of their military ornaments; but the Gauls were suffered to appear in their belts, in derision of the vow they had made not to quit them till they were upon the Capitol; and there they were taken from them, amidst the hisses of the people.

*The new
consuls sent
into the
country of
the Gauls.*

However, this defeat did not compel the Gauls to submit. The republic, therefore, nominated two commanders of great experience, who had been both consuls before, in hopes they would finish this important war.

• Polyb. lib. ii. 120—122. Diod. Sic. lib. xxv. Flor. lib. i. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 20.

These

These were T. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus; but they performed nothing worth mentioning. Their marches being retarded by violent rains, they could not pass the Po, as they designed; besides, a plague in their army not only kept them in a state of inaction, but prevented them from returning to Rome at the usual time; so that it was necessary to create a dictator, who was the famous Cæcilius Metellus, to hold the comitia in their absence, for a new election of consuls. C. Flaminius Nepos and P. Furius Philo were chosen. These were the first Roman generals who passed the Po; but they were so terrified at the appearance of the Insubres, whose country they intended to invade, that they entered into a treaty with them, and, repassing the Po, took refuge among their faithful allies the Cenomani. Having rambled about those unknown regions for some time, they resolved to make another attempt upon Insubria; but the Romans being at this time much frightened with prodigies, the augurs declared that there must have been some defect in the election of the consuls. Upon this intimation the senate immediately dispatched a courier, with a letter, commanding them to return to Rome and abdicate.

The consuls ordered to return home and abdicate.

The consuls, who were then in sight of the enemy, thinking a retreat through so many nations, whose fidelity was doubtful, might be attended with dangerous consequences, resolved not to open the letter till after the battle. The consul Flaminius seems to have taken the whole command upon himself; for no historian makes mention of his colleague Furius in describing the action. As the Romans were inferior to the enemy in numbers, the consul designed at first to reinforce his army with those Gauls who were in amity with the Roman people, and sent orders to them to join him; but upon their arrival he considered, that it was a dangerous thing to trust those auxiliaries, who might, in the heat of the action, out of compassion for their countrymen, desert the Romans, and even turn their arms against them. Upon this consideration he resolved not to trust them in an affair of so great importance, and therefore ordered them to pass the river Addua; a motion which they had no sooner made, than he caused the bridge to be broken down, and, by these means, as the river was not fordable, prevented them from siding with the enemy, since he could not resolve to trust them as friends. This was the only prudent step the consul took, either before, or in the time of the action; for he drew up his men, not after the Roman manner, but so close,

The consuls resolve first to engage the enemy.

The prudent conduct of the tribunes.

close, that the whole army seemed to be one phalanx; besides he posted the last line so near the Addua, that, if they had been pressed, they would have been forced into the river; but the skill and management of the legionary tribunes made amends for the consul's imprudent conduct.

These had observed, in their former battles with the Gauls, that they made but one furious attack, after which their fire abated; and that their swords were only fit for cutting, and easily bent, so that, if they had not time to set them strait again with their foot on the ground, they soon became useless. The tribunes, therefore, took two precautions, which determined the fate of the day in their favour. They distributed among the soldiers of the first line the javelins used by the triarii, which were a kind of halberts, ordering them to present the points of their javelins to the enemy, and keep them at such a distance as to prevent them from making use of their swords. The tribunes also commanded their men to throw down their javelins, and, closing with the enemy sword in hand, stab them in the throat and breast. To these orders the Romans owed the victory; for the Gauls having, in the beginning of the attack, blunted their swords against the long javelins of the Romans, the latter no sooner perceived that their ardour began to cool, than they shortened their swords, and closing with the enemy, so as to leave them no room to raise their arms, stabbed them without running any danger, the swords of the Gauls having no points. Nine thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and seventeen thousand taken prisoners. Thus, notwithstanding the bad prognostics, and the orders of the superstitious senate, a complete victory was gained, though it was rather owing to the conduct of the subalterns than to the skill or prudence of the general ^P.

*The Insu-
bres de-
feated.*

Yr. of Fl.

2137.

Ante Chr.

211.

U. C. 537.

*Flaminius
ravages
Insubria.*

After the action, the consuls opened the packet, when, ^P ^{Furius}, who perhaps had declined the command during the action, out of respect to the senate, was for immediately obeying the order; but Flaminius, thinking a successful act of disobedience more honourable than a blind and timorous submission, was for pursuing the advantages of the victory; which he did accordingly, enriching his soldiers with booty, while his colleague continued inactive, waiting to join him, when he should return from his incursions into Insubria. At length Flaminius rejoined his colleague, and they returned to Rome toge-

^P Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 110—121. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 13. Plut. in Marcel. Zon. lib. viii. cap. 20,

ther,

ther, where they met with a very cold reception from the senate and people; but the troops of Flaminius, whom he had enriched with the spoils of the enemy, prevailed upon the people to grant both the consuls a triumph, since the victory had been gained under the auspices of both. However, the senate obliged them to abdicate immediately after; so that the republic fell into an interregnum, when the centuries chose M. Claudius Marcellus, one of the greatest men Rome ever produced, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio, to the consulate. They had scarce entered upon their office, when the Insubres sent ambassadors to Rome, to beg a peace upon any terms: but the senate having, at the instigation of their new consuls, dismissed their deputies with a refusal, they resolved to make their last effort; and accordingly took into their pay thirty thousand Gæsatæ, who, passing the Alps, entered Italy, under the command of their king Viridomarus. Early in the spring, the consuls passed the Po, and opened the campaign with the siege of Acerræ, a place near that river. The Gauls, who were now ninety thousand strong, in order to make a diversion, and oblige the Romans to raise the siege they had undertaken, passed the Po, and entering the Roman territories, invested Calistidium, a city placed by Plutarch in Cisalpine Gaul, but by Livy in Liguria Montana. Upon intelligence of this motion of the enemy, Marcellus, with two-thirds of the cavalry, and about six hundred of the light-armed infantry, hastened to the relief of the place. The Gauls, receiving intelligence of his approach, raised the siege, and marched in battle-array to meet him. Marcellus drew up his small army with great skill, and advanced leisurely, in order of battle, against the enemy. When the two armies drew near each other, Viridomarus advanced before his troops, and challenged the Roman general to single combat. Marcellus readily accepted the challenge; so that both parties, leaving the field free for the champions, retired to wait the issue of the combat. Marcellus, rushing upon the king full-speed, pierced his breast-plate with his lance, and gave him a deep wound. Then spurring his horse with great violence against that of his adversary, he made him recoil, rear, and throw his rider, whom he soon dispatched with repeated blows. The Gæsatæ being disheartened by the death of their leader, the Romans charged with great fury, and put them to flight. Thus a handful of Romans defeated a numerous army of Gauls, and obliged them to shelter

Both consuls honoured with a triumph.

The Insubres having in vain sued for peace, enter Italy again.

Marcellus kills the king of the Gæsatæ in single combat, and puts the enemy to flight.

shelter themselves in the woods and forests of their own country ^q.

During the absence of Marcellus, Acerræ had been taken by his colleague, who from thence had marched to invest Mediolanum, the largest, richest, and most populous city of Insubria; but he was more closely besieged by the Gauls, than Mediolanum was by him. Upon the arrival of Marcellus, the scene changed; the Gætatæ retired with precipitation, repassed the Alps, and left the inhabitants of Mediolanum to the mercy of the conquerors. The city immediately surrendered at discretion, as did also Comum, another city of great importance. Thus all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian Sea, became entirely Roman. Insubria and Liguria were now made one province, and called Cisalpine Gaul, which was governed by a prætor sent annually from Rome. In order to keep the conquered Gauls from revolting, two Roman colonies were settled at Cremona and Placentia, on the opposite banks of the Po.

*Insubria
and Ligu-
ria made
a Roman
province.*

Marcellus was decreed at Rome an extraordinary triumph, for having conquered the Insubres and the Germans ^r. This is the first time we find the Germans mentioned in the history of Rome. Polybius, indeed, places the Gætatæ on the banks of the Rhone; but other writers tell us, that they inhabited the countries bordering on the Rhine. Marcellus, in his triumphal procession, carried on his shoulders the rich armour and spoils of Viridomarus, and dedicated the third and last opima spolia to Jupiter Feretrius. Part of the rich spoils taken on this occasion was sent to king Hiero, who was yet living, and a gold cup, made out of them, to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Cornelius did not receive the honours of a triumph, but was continued in the new province, in quality of proconsul, to regulate affairs in that quarter.

*The third
opima
spolia.*

The new consuls, M. Minucius Rufus and P. Cornelius Scipio Asina, were ordered to make war upon the Istrians, for having taken some Roman ships. All Istria was reduced in one year's time, though some writers tell us, that the reduction of it cost the conquerors a great deal of blood ^s.

*Istria con-
quered.*

During the present consulate, news were brought to Rome of the death of Asdrubal in Spain; which gave the Romans great concern, because he had been ever faith-

^q Plut. in Marcel. ^r Tab. Triumph. ^s Oros. lib. iv. cap. 13.
Zonar. lib. vii. cap. 27. Liv. Epit. lib. xx.

ful to his treaties, and the republic thought she had much more to fear from the bold and enterprising genius of young Hannibal, who was appointed to succeed him, though at that time not above twenty-six years of age. The first expedition of this young warrior confirmed the Romans in their fears. In his first campaign he made war upon the Olcades, a people bordering on the Iberus; and gave reason to believe, that he would soon pass that river, contrary to the treaty. Althæa, and several other cities in that neighbourhood, submitted to him: however, as Rome had yet no reason to declare herself his enemy, she turned her arms another way. Demetrius of Pharos, on whom the republic had heaped many favours, seeing the government of Illyricum lodged in his hands, and the Romans engaged in a troublesome war with the Gauls, had despised their orders; and acting, not as regent, but as king of Illyricum, had obliged the Atintanes to renounce their alliance with Rome, and come into his measures; nay, he even ventured, contrary to the treaty, to send fifty ships of war beyond the Lyffos, to pillage the Cyclades. Complaints being brought to Rome from all parts, the new consuls, L. Veturius Philo and C. Lutatius, would have immediately set sail for Illyricum, if they had not been obliged to abdicate, upon some defect found in their election. They were succeeded by M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Valerius Lævinus; but the year being too far advanced to begin the expedition, it was postponed to the next consulship. This year ended with a census, by which the number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred seventy thousand two hundred and thirteen. At the time of the census, all the libertini, or freedmen, who lived dispersed among all the tribes, and occasioned great disturbances in the city, were confined to four tribes; to wit, the Esquilina, the Palatina, the Suburrana, and the Collina^t.

And now both consuls, M. Livius Salinator and L. Æmilius Paulus, embarked for Illyricum, and opened the campaign with the siege of Dimalum, a city of importance in that country, which Demetrius had fortified with so many works, that it was deemed impregnable. However, the Romans, by surprising efforts, in the space of seven days, took this formidable bulwark, by which the regent pretended to screen himself from the vengeance of Rome. Their next attempt was upon Pharos, an island

Aldrubal succeeded by Hannibal.

Demetrius of Pharos provokes the Romans.

Yr. of Fl.
2147.
Ante Chr.
206.
U. C. 542.

An army sent against him.

^t Flor. in Epit. Liv. lib. xx.

in the Adriatic Sea, the birth-place of Demetrius. Here he had assembled the flower of his troops, looking upon this island and city as his last refuge. As the Roman fleet had two consular armies on board, one was landed in the night, with orders to conceal themselves in the forests, and behind the rocks, till the signal was given. Then the fleet appeared off Pharos in open day, in appearance to land forces. Demetrius marched out of the town at the head of his troops, to prevent the descent; and then the legionaries, leaving their ambush, marched silently, and seized an eminence between the city and the port. Demetrius endeavoured to dislodge them; but the Romans on board the squadron having made their descent, the Illyrians were invested on all sides, and soon dispersed. Demetrius made his escape to Macedon, on board a vessel he had kept ready for that purpose. The city of Pharos was taken, plundered, and rased; so that Rome was now the second time mistress of Illyricum, which, however, she did not reduce to the form of a province, having some compassion for the young king Pinæus, who had been brought into these troubles merely by the fault of his guardians^u. The consuls, on their return to Rome, were accused before the tribes of having applied to their own use great part of the spoils taken from the enemy, and of distributing the rest partially among the soldiers. Æmilius was acquitted; but his colleague Salinator was condemned by all the tribes, except the tribe Mæcia; an affront which he could not brook, and therefore appeared no more in public, but retired to a house he had in the country, and there led a solitary life, till the calamities of his country brought him into action again. When he was afterwards censor, he deprived all the tribes, except the tribe Mæcia, of the right of suffrage, and all the privileges of Roman citizens * (O).

*The latter
ruined.*

While

^u Zon. lib. viii. cap. 20. * Auct. Vit. Vir. Illust. Front. Strat. lib. iv. cap. 1. Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 37.

(O) In this consulship, one Archagathus of Peloponnesus introduced the art of surgery into Rome. Till his time, every one had his family receipts, as Pliny calls them (1), conveyed down to him by tra-

dition; but the Peloponnesian cured all sorts of wounds in a regular way; on which account he was honoured with the right of citizenship, and had a house built for him at the expence of the public^u but

(1) Plin. lib. xxix. cap. 1.

While the Romans were engaged in the Illyrian war, Hannibal prosecuted his conquests in Spain. The Vaccæi, the Olcades, and the Carpetani, had attempted to oppose his progress with an army of a hundred thousand men; but that brave commander had defeated them by his superior skill in war, and obliged them to submit. Elated with this success, he advanced, at the head of his army, into the territory of Saguntum, and, contrary to the late treaty between Rome and Carthage, laid siege to that city. The Roman senate dispatched two ambassadors, P. Valerius Flaccus, and Q. Bebius Tamphilus, to Hannibal, with orders to proceed to Carthage, in case the Carthaginian general refused to comply with their request. They were scarce landed, when Hannibal declared, that he had not leisure to give audience to ambassadors: however, he admitted them at last, and, in answer to their remonstrances, told them, that the Saguntines had drawn their misfortunes on themselves, by committing hostilities against the allies of Carthage; and at the same time desired the deputies, if they had any complaints to make of him, to carry them to the senate of Carthage. However, the artful Carthaginian immediately dispatched to Carthage some friends, in whom he could confide, to give the senate favourable prepossessions with relation to his enterprize upon Saguntum. He then returned to the attack of that city, which he had intermitted for some days, in order to refresh his troops. The Saguntines are said to have defended themselves for eight months with surprising bravery; and, when they could resist no longer, many of them burnt all their richest effects, then shutting themselves up in their houses, set fire to them, and perished with their wives and children in the flames.

Hannibal besieges Saguntum.

The Roman ambassadors arriving at Carthage, found the senate divided into two factions; the Barcan, of which Hamilcar Barcas, the father of Hannibal, had been the head, and that of Hanno, which consisted of the oldest senators, and wisest men in the republic. The ambassadors, after having complained to the senate of Hannibal, demanded, that he should be delivered to the Romans, to

Roman ambassadors sent to Carthage.

† Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 14.

as he used to make large incisions, in order to cure wounds with more certainty, the Romans gave him the name of Butcher, which soon brought his profession into dispute (2).

(*) Plin. lib. xxix. cap. 1.

War de-
clared.

be punished, according to his deserts; and at the same time declared, that Rome would consider the refusal of so just a demand, as a public approbation of the infraction of the treaty, and the destruction of Saguntum. It seemed both cruel and shameful for the Carthaginians to deliver up to his implacable enemies a young conqueror, who was the glory and hopes of his nation. However, Hanno, in a warm speech, pressed the senate to give the Romans the satisfaction they required; but the Barcan faction opposed this motion, and being more numerous, prevailed. A commissioner, expert in negotiations, was appointed to discuss the affair with the Roman ambassadors, and to answer their complaints; but, after several conferences, in which the African negotiator used all the chicanery and evasions possible to colour the proceedings of Hannibal, the ambassadors renewed their demand before the senate; and, to prevent endless disputes, the chief of the ambassadors, having made two folds in his robe, said, addressing himself to the senate, "On one side is peace, on the other war; choose which you please." The president of the assembly answered, "We will choose neither; give us which you please." "Take war then," replied the ambassador. At which words the Barcan faction cried out with joy, "War, war!" A fatal declaration, which brought both nations to the brink of ruin.

C H A P. XLI.

The History of Rome, from the Beginning to the End of the second Carthaginian War.

S E C T. I.

From the Commencement of the second Carthaginian War to the retaking of Saguntum.

THE new consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio and Tib. Sempronius Longus, had scarce entered upon their office, when the ambassadors returned to Rome. The account of their embassy, and the news of the destruc-

See, Lib. xxi. cap. 25.

tion

tion of Saguntum, left the senate no room to deliberate about war or peace. The consuls were therefore ordered to draw lots for their respective provinces. Africa fell to Sempronius, and Spain to Cornelius Scipio. The former was directed to pass into Sicily, assemble all the troops in that island, from thence sail to Africa, and begin hostilities in that country. Cornelius was commanded to go into Spain, and use all possible means to prevent Hannibal from entering Italy. Six legions were raised, amounting to twenty-four thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse: and, among the several nations in Italy subject to the republic, four thousand horse more, and forty-four thousand foot. Rome equipped a fleet of two hundred and twenty quinqueremes, and twenty other light vessels. Two legions, consisting each of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse, with fourteen thousand foot, and one thousand horse, of the allies, were put under the command of Cornelius Scipio, who was to transport them on board a fleet of sixty quinqueremes to Transalpine Gaul. Two legions, with fourteen thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, of the allies, were left in Italy, under the command of the prætor L. Manlius, to keep Cisalpine Gaul in awe. As for the consul Sempronius, who was designed for Africa, his army consisted of two legions, sixteen thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse, of the allies. These troops were put on board a fleet of a hundred and sixty galleys, and twenty light vessels.

*Levies
made for a
war with
Carthage.*

Before the arrival of Sempronius in Sicily, the Carthaginians had sent out a squadron of twenty sail to plunder the coasts of Italy; but these ships being dispersed by a storm, king Hiero, who happened to be then at Messina with his fleet, had detached part of it, and taken some of them. The prisoners informed him, that Carthage had equipped another squadron of thirty-five galleys, with a design to surprize Lilybæum. This intelligence the king immediately communicated to Æmilius, prætor of Sicily, who sailed with his small squadron to join the Syracusan fleet, in order to defend the threatened city. The Carthaginians finding, upon their arrival, both fleets riding at anchor before the mouth of the harbour, did not attempt to enter it, but, keeping at some distance, drew up in line of battle. The Romans and Syracusans accepted the challenge; so that an engagement ensued, in which the Carthaginians were defeated, with the loss of seven ships. Seventeen hundred of their men were taken

*The Car-
thaginians
plunder the
coasts of
Italy.*

*Defeated
by the Ro-
man and
Syracusan
fleets.*

prisoners, and a great many killed in the action. The Romans did not lose a galley, and had but a very small number of men killed. The king, on his return to Mesfana, finding Sempronius there, went immediately on board the consul's ship, embraced him tenderly, and assured him, that he should continue the same affection for Rome in his old age, which he had always shewn in his youth; nor did he limit his good will to professions only; he clothed the legionaries, and the crews of the Roman ships, at his own expence, supplied the whole army with corn, and then set sail with the consul for Lilybæum, where they parted with regret^a.

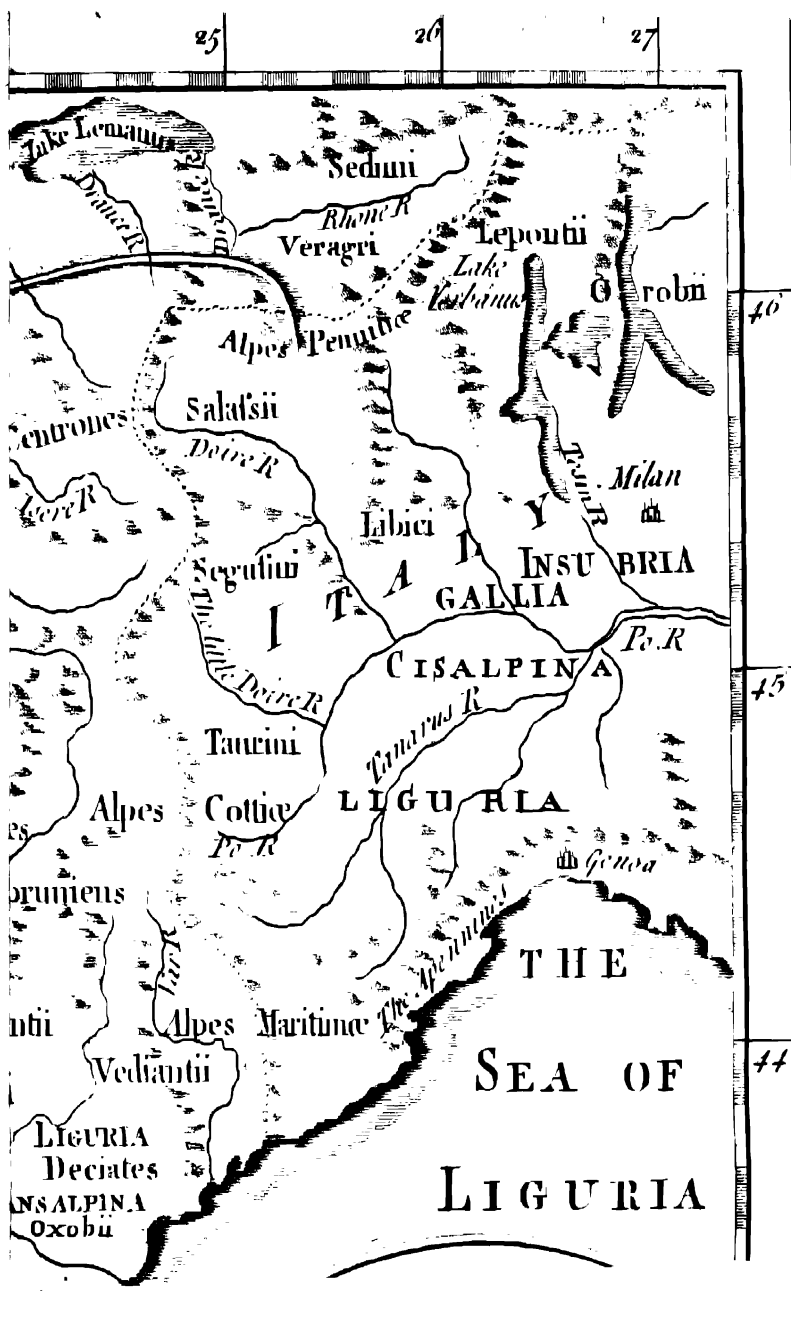
*Melita
seized by
the Ro-
mans.*

Sempronius, from Lilybæum, steered his course to the island of Melita, situated between Sicily and Africa; and he no sooner appeared before it, than Hamilcar, the Carthaginian governor, surrendered the island, the city, and the garrison. But in the mean time the Carthaginians, having made a descent on the coasts of Italy, Sempronius was preparing to drive them from thence, when news arrived, that Hannibal had passed the Alps, and at the same time he received an order from the senate to return in all haste to Italy. Leaving, therefore, the prætor, Æmilius, in Sicily, with a sufficient number of troops and ships to defend the island, he went on board his fleet, and entered the Adriatic Sea, with a design to land at Ariminum^b.

Hannibal, being authorized by the senate of Carthage to act against the Romans as he thought proper, resolved not to wait for their coming to attack him in Spain, but to carry the war into the heart of their dominions. With this view he had, during the winter, settled affairs in Spain. He appointed his brother Asdrubal governor of that country in his absence; and, in order to put him in a condition to oppose any descents there, he left him fifty quinqueremes, four quadriremes, and five triremes. As to the land-forces, he did not leave his brother to the mercy of the Spaniards, but transported thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty foot, and one thousand two hundred horse, of the Spanish troops, into Africa, and brought fifteen thousand Africans into Spain. By this exchange he wisely provided for the security of both countries. After these prudent regulations he waited only for the answers of the Italic Gauls, to whom he had sent his

^a Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 49—51. Appian in Punic. Zon. lib. viii. cap.

^b Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 51.



emissaries, soliciting them to shake off the Roman yoke. He no sooner received assurances of their earnest desire to see him in Italy, than he applied himself wholly to the preparations for his march. He began by putting himself under the protection of Hercules, who was worshipped at Gades, whither he took a journey to offer sacrifices and vows to that god. Then he assembled his troops, harangued them, and, upon a muster, found that they amounted to ninety thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. However, by the desertion of some of his troops, by his dismissing others, and by the several detachments he made for the security of the new-conquered provinces, his army, when he crossed the Pyrenees, consisted only of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. With these troops, having passed the Pyrenees without opposition, he arrived at Illiberis, a city of Gallia Narbonensis, on the coast of the Mediterranean, which he had appointed for the place of the general rendezvous.

Hannibal begins his march for Italy.

In the mean time the Boii, receiving intelligence that Hannibal had begun his march to Italy, openly revolted from the Romans, and, being joined by the Insubres, fell upon the two new colonies of Placentia and Cremona. The inhabitants fled for refuge to Mutina, an old Roman colony, whither the rebels pursued them, with a design to besiege the place; but as they were not skilled in taking cities, they had recourse to treachery, drew the three leaders of the colony out of the place, under pretence of a conference, and then seized them, with a design to exchange them for the hostages they had formerly left in the hands of the Romans. These hostilities roused the prætor Manlius, who had been left by Cornelius Scipio, with two legions, to keep Cisalpine Gaul in subjection. He immediately led one of them to the relief of Mutina; but as the country, through which he marched, was covered with forests, the Gauls, who were acquainted with all the roads, surprised him, and cut most of his legionaries in pieces, the prætor himself escaping with great difficulty to an eminence, whence he retired to Tanetum, a city on the banks of the Nicia, where he was immediately invested by the enemy. However, upon the approach of the prætor Lucius Attilius, at the head of the other legion, and five thousand auxiliaries, the enemy raised the sieges of Tanetum and Mutina, and dispersed.

The Boii revolt.

• Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 188. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 22, 23. lib. xxi. cap. 25, 26, Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 193, 194.

• Liv.

The consul, Cornelius Scipio, having sailed from Pisa, and kept along the coast of Liguria, had landed his troops at that mouth of the Rhone which is nearest Masilia. His design was to wait there for Hannibal, and give him battle before he attempted to cross the Alps. He had, indeed, received notice of Hannibal's having passed the Pyrénées; but could not imagine that he was near, considering the difficulty and length of his march. He therefore encamped on an island formed by the Rhone, which the ancients call Camaria, and the moderns La Camarque, and remained there a few days to refresh his troops after the fatigues of the sea. But Hannibal, more expeditious than Scipio imagined, having surmounted all difficulties, was encamped on the banks of the Rhone, and contriving means to pass that rapid stream*. The Gauls, on that side the river, favoured him through fear; but those on the other side, jealous of so powerful an army, prepared to oppose his passage with all their force. Scipio knew nothing of this design; otherwise, by joining the Gauls, who were determined to dispute his passage, he would, in all likelihood, have made the Rhone the boundary of Hannibal's expedition; but, in this great crisis, Hannibal's fortune was equal to his valour.

*Hannibal
crosses the
Rhone.*

The Carthaginian suspecting that a consular army was not far off, and being therefore obliged without delay to pass the river, which was no where fordable, in sight of the enemy, he had recourse to stratagem. He detached part of his army, under the command of Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, with orders to march up along the river, to cross it out of sight of the enemy's camp, and, by taking a tour, to get behind them and lie in ambush. Hanno having executed his commission, and given the signal agreed on, Hannibal prepared to pass the river with that part of the army which remained with him. He ordered his cavalry to embark in the greater vessels, and his foot in canoes, made only of hollowed trees. He directed those who governed the greater vessels to keep their bows upon the stream, thereby to check the current of the river, and cover the others from danger. The horses were not embarked, but swam after the small boats, one man holding three or four by the bridle on each side the boat. While they were thus contending against the violence of the stream, and animating each other, the enemy waited for them on the opposite bank, with dismal cries and howl-

* Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 195.

ings; but in the mean time Hanno's detachment attacking them in the rear, they were seized with such a panic, that they immediately dispersed, every one making the best of his way to his own village.

Scipio receiving intelligence that the enemy were already encamped on the banks of the Rhone, detached three hundred chosen horse to reconnoitre. These fell in with a party of five hundred Numidian horse, sent out by Hannibal for the same purpose; and a sharp action ensued, in which the Numidians lost two hundred men, and the Romans a hundred and sixty. The Numidians were put to flight; and this advantage, how inconsiderable soever, was looked upon by the Romans as a happy omen for the rest of the war. However, it did not discourage Hannibal, who, upon certain information, that the consular army was not far distant, was for some time in doubt, whether he should attack the Romans, or march for Italy; but the deputies from the Cisalpine Gauls, the chief of whom was one Magalus or Mægilus, determined him, by their advice, to lead his army over the mountains entire, and not run the hazard of weakening it by a disaster. They made Hannibal rich presents, tendered him their service, and took upon them to be his guides over the Alps. The Carthaginian, therefore, to avoid Scipio, marched up the river, and encamped at the conflux of the Rhodanus and the Araris, or the Rhone and the Saone. Here Hannibal found two brothers disputing for the dominion of the country, and their armies drawn up ready to engage. At the request of the elder brother Hannibal joined him against the younger, whom he drove out of the country. The conqueror immediately expressed his gratitude, by furnishing the Carthaginians with cloaths, which they greatly wanted, most of them being half naked, and supplying them with what was necessary to guard them against the snow and ice of the Alps. Nor was this all the advantage he received from these allies: as the Carthaginians were afraid of being attacked by the Gauls dispersed about those unknown countries, the king guarded them in person, and conducted them safe to the foot of the mountains, which they reached after ten days march.

The ancients have left us in great uncertainty as to the place where the Carthaginian general passed the mountains. Some of the moderns point out one place, and

*The first
encounter
advan-
tageous to
the Ro-
mans.*

(Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 195—200. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 26—28.
& Polyb. *ibid.* cap. 198. Liv. *ibid.* cap. 29.

*Hannibal
begins his
march
over the
Alps.*

*Is harassed
by the in-
habitants,*

some another; but as they may be all equally mistaken, we shall follow Hannibal through the difficulties he met with in his passage, without pretending to ascertain the precise place, where he attempted, and happily accomplished, so bold an undertaking: As soon as Hannibal ordered his troops to begin their march up the mountains the petty kings of the country, assembling their troops in great numbers, possessed themselves of the eminences, over which the Carthaginians were obliged to pass. They continued harassing the Carthaginians, and were no sooner driven from one eminence, than they seized another, disputing every foot of land with the enemy, and destroying great numbers of them by the advantage they had of the ground^a. Hannibal being informed by the Gauls, who served him as guides, that the Barbarians kept guard in those places only in the day-time, and in the night retired to a village not far off, he decamped in broad day, and, moving slowly, drew near the post which the mountaineers possessed in the evening, as if he designed to pass the night there; but as soon as it was dark, and the enemy had, according to their custom, retired, he put himself at the head of a detachment of chosen men, and gained one of the eminences. When day discovered to the enemy what had passed, they resolved to attack the Carthaginians from the other eminences, which commanded the narrow, stony, and broken way, through which they marched. Accordingly, leaping from rock to rock with the agility of hinds, they fell upon them from all quarters at once. The Carthaginians lost in this unforeseen attack an incredible number of horses and beasts of burden: but the horses that were wounded gave them most trouble; for, falling in so narrow and crowded a way, they threw down others by striving to recover their feet, and so occasioned a general confusion. Hannibal observing this, immediately left the post he had taken, and falling on the enemy from the higher ground, killed most of them on the spot, and dispersed the rest^b.

*They are
killed and
dispersed by
Hannibal;*

*who re-
covers his
prisoners,
horses, &c.*

Having escaped this danger, he immediately marched at the head of a strong detachment against the town which had harboured the enemy, and entered it without opposition. Here he found the prisoners, horses, and beasts of burden, which had fallen into the enemy's hands, besides cattle and corn sufficient to support the army for three days. In this town Hannibal remained a day to rest

^a Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 31. Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 197-202. ^b Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 197-202.

and refresh his troops, and then pursued his march for three days successively, without the least molestation or alarm; but on the fourth day he fell into a greater danger than that he had lately escaped. Other mountaineers met him with olive-branches and garlands of flowers, and tendered him their service. Hannibal, thinking it equally dangerous to trust or distrust them, endeavoured, by several questions, to sound their design. They told him, that his having defeated those who opposed him, and taken their town, had prompted them to come and implore his protection; and that, as to themselves, they were resolved to do him no injury, nor suffer any to be done him by others. Hannibal at first only pretended to trust them for fear of disobliging them; but after they had supplied his army with provisions, and conversed with all manner of freedom and confidence with his soldiers, he began to entertain a better opinion of their sincerity, and even put so much confidence in them, as to accept their tenders of serving him as guides. However, as he still retained a secret doubt of their sincerity, he placed his elephants and horse in the van, and a chosen body of foot in the rear. This precaution preserved his army from being entirely destroyed; for these faithless guides, having led the army into a valley, surrounded with rocks and steep hills, faced about, and fell upon them in front, while their countrymen, who lay concealed among the rocks, attacked their rear; but the elephants stopped the fury of the one, and the infantry stood their ground against the other.

Is betrayed by his guides, and in great danger.

Nevertheless, the Carthaginians suffered no small loss both of men and horses on this occasion; for the enemy, rolling down huge stones from the upper ground, killed a great number. The consternation was so great in Hannibal's army, that he was obliged to stop, and take up his quarters that night on the top of an eminence, exposed to the open air, with that part of the army which was with him, remote from the baggage, and the rest of the troops, who with difficulty effected their passage through the valley before day-break. In the morning, the enemy being now retired, Hannibal joined his army and baggage, and continued his march. After this effort, the Gauls appeared only in small bodies, falling sometimes on the van, and sometimes on the rear of the army, and seldom failing to carry off part of the baggage. After many fatigues and losses, Hannibal arrived at the top of the mountains, nine days after he had begun to ascend them. There he encamped, and halted two days, to give his weary

Loses many of his men.

Arrives at the top of the mountains.

weary troops some repose, and to wait for the stragglers. During his stay, he saw with pleasure many horses arrive, which he thought lost, and some of his men, who had not been able to keep up with his army. As the snow had lately fallen in great plenty on the tops of those high mountains, and covered the ground; this sight terrified the Africans and Spaniards, who were much affected with the cold. In order to encourage them, and inspire them with resolution against the sufferings that yet threatened them, the Carthaginian general led them to the top of the highest rock on the side of Italy, and thence gave them a view of the large and fruitful plains of Insubria, acquainting them, that the Gauls, whose country they saw, were ready to join them. Having thus animated his harassed troops, after two days rest he decamped, and began to descend the mountains.

Great difficulties in descending the Alps.

The difficulties they met with in going down were equal to those they had found in the ascent. They had indeed few enemies to contend with; but the deep snows, mountains of ice, craggy rocks, and frightful precipices, proved more terrible than any enemy. However, the troops, now inured to the greatest hardships, were proof against all difficulties, and surmounted them with cheerfulness. After they had for some days marched through narrow, steep, and slippery ways, they came at length to a place, which neither men, elephants, nor horses, could pass. The way was exceeding narrow; and the declivity was become more dangerous by the falling away of the earth. Here the guides stopped, and the whole army being alarmed, Hannibal proposed at first to march round, and attempt another way; but all places being covered with snow to a great depth, he found himself reduced to the necessity, either of turning back, and climbing up the mountains again, or getting down a place which was almost perpendicular; where a thin surface of snow covered a thick ice. The infantry began to descend; but their feet slipping, and there being nothing to catch hold of, they rolled into the precipices which were on either side this narrow passage; and were crushed to pieces, or buried in the snow.

Hannibal, having ordered the snow to be removed, which covered all the ground, and the ice to be broken, encamped at the entrance of this pass, in order to deliberate on the proper method of surmounting the present

difficulty. After he had considered the nature of the place, he concluded, that the only means of getting over it was to cut a way into the rock itself, through which his men, horses, and elephants, might pass. This was a laborious work; but the Numidians, setting cheerfully about it, and frequently relieving one another, with unspeakable pains made, in one day, a way in the rock for the foot, and in three days more for the horse, and likewise for the elephants, which had suffered much, and were almost dead with hunger, the ground being in that part of the Alps covered with snow; so that no forage could be found (P). Thus Hannibal, having spent nine days in climbing up the Alps, and six in descending them, reached at length Insubria; and, notwithstanding his many disasters by the way, entered that country with all the boldness of a conqueror.

Hannibal enters Insubria.

Hannibal now reviewed his army, when he found, that of the fifty thousand foot, with which he had set out from New Carthage five months and fifteen days before, he had now but twelve thousand Carthaginians, and eight thousand Spaniards; and that his twelve thousand horse were reduced to six thousand (Q). His first care, when he entered Italy, was to refresh his troops, who, after so long a march, and so many hardships, were in great want of rest. However, he did not suffer them to indulge long in idleness; but joining the Insubres, who were at war with the Taurinians, laid siege to Taurinum, the only city in the country, and made himself master of it in three days, putting all who resisted to the sword. This

Takes Taurinum.

(P) Some historians tell us, that the Numidians used vinegar to soften the rocks (1); but the silence of the most judicious writers, as to this particular, is sufficient to justify our not giving credit to so idle a story. All they tell us is, that the Africans made use of fire, pick-axes, and other instruments of iron, for the accomplishing of so laborious an undertaking.

(Q) Some writers tell us,

that Hannibal entered Italy at the head of forty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; others make his troops amount to two hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse (2). But the above mentioned number was specified by Hannibal himself, and engraved, as Polybius informs us, on a column which he erected near the Lacinian Promontory in Calabria (3).

(1) Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 37.
Liv. xxi. cap. 48.

(2) Cincius Alimentus apud
(3) Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 209.

achievement struck such terror into the neighbouring Barbarians, that they all submitted to the conqueror, and supplied his army with all sorts of provisions ¹.

*Scipio quits
Gaul, and
returns by
sea to Italy.*

When Scipio understood, upon the return of the party he had sent out, that Hannibal was arrived at the banks of the Rhone, he decamped, and marched up the river, with a design to give him battle; but finding that the Carthaginians had crossed the river three days before, and was pursuing his march over the Alps into Italy, he marched back to his fleet with all possible expedition. Having dispatched his brother Cneius Scipio, with the best part of his troops, to carry on the war in Spain against Asdrubal, he embarked the rest, with a design to return to Italy by sea, and meet Hannibal on his descending the Alps. He soon arrived at Pisa, and crossing Hetruria, joined that army, which the consul Manlius had so unfortunately led against the Boii. With this, and the few troops he had with him, he passed the Po, and encamped on the banks of the Ticinus, which discharges itself into that river. Hannibal was surprised, when he understood that Scipio, whom he had left on the banks of the Rhone, had already returned from Gaul to Italy, crossed Hetruria, passed the Po, and was ready to receive him. Scipio was no less struck with admiration at Hannibal's expedition in crossing the Alps, through ways which he deemed impassable. This reciprocal respect, which the two generals had for each other, increased their emulation, and inspired them with an eager desire of entering the lists together ². In the mean time the news of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, at the head of a powerful army, of his taking Taurinum, and advancing to meet the consul Scipio, filled Rome with terror. The senate expected every hour to hear of a battle, and the uncertainty of the success kept all men in suspense; indeed the two armies were too near each other to defer entering upon action. Scipio encouraged his troops in an harangue well suited to the occasion; but Hannibal employed a new kind of eloquence, which made deep impressions on the minds of his Carthaginians.

*Crosses the
Po, and
encamps on
the banks
of the
Ticinus.*

He had treated the prisoners, taken on the Alps, with the utmost rigour; so that they earnestly wished to put an end to their miseries by death. They were loaded night and day with heavy chains, almost starved, and beaten in

¹ Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 109.
ibid. 212.

² Liv. ibid. cap. 39. Polyb.

a most barbarous manner. Hannibal designed them for the diversion with which he now entertained his troops; for he caused those unhappy men to be brought out at the head of the army, which he assembled for that purpose, and asked them whether they were willing to engage each other in single combats, and fight till one of them were killed in sight of his troops. He ordered horses, and rich habits and furniture, to be produced at the same time, as rewards for the conquerors; and comforted the vanquished with the hopes of death, which would end their insupportable miseries. There was not one of them who did not, with great joy, consent to the proposal. Hannibal then commanded a certain number to be chosen by lot, in order to engage. Those on whom the lot fell, leaped for joy, while the others broke out into loud lamentations. While they fought, the rest of the prisoners looked on the vanquished as no less fortunate than the conquerors, having by their death put a period to the miseries they endured. The constancy of those who died was more admired by the Carthaginian soldiers than the valour and skill of the survivors. While their imaginations were warm with these objects, Hannibal told them, that their fate was like that of the captives whose glorious deaths they had admired, and whose rewards they had envied; that Italy was a vast prison to them, having the enemy's country before them, and behind them the Alps; that they could not escape the miseries to which hunger, thirst, nakedness, and heavy chains, would reduce them, unless they purchased liberty, necessaries, and life itself, by their bravery; that, since they could entertain no hopes of returning to their native countries by flight, they ought to have the same sentiments which they had just before admired in the captives, since they were under the same necessity of conquering, or dying; and that if they conquered, not fine horses only, and rich furniture, would be their lot, but all the wealth of the richest country and city in the world^a.

The discourse of the general was applauded by the whole army, every man declaring, that he was determined to conquer or die. With this disposition the army drew near the Ticinus, which Scipio had already passed. Next day the two armies came in sight of each other, when Scipio advanced at the head of the cavalry, with some companies of dartmen, to observe the enemy's motions

*The two
armies in
sight of
each other.*

^a Liv. *ibid.* cap. 40—45. Polyb. *ibid.* cap. 214—215.

*They en-
gage.*

*The Ro-
mans de-
feated.*

*Hannibal
crosses the
Po;*

and disposition. Hannibal marched against him at the head of his Spanish and Numidian cavalry. As the leaders on both sides, and the troops they commanded, were eager to engage, they soon came to blows; but scarce had the Roman dartmen, whom Scipio had placed in the front, made their first discharge, when they retired into the spaces between their troops, through fear of being trod down by the horse. Hannibal's horse made but one large front, the Numidians in the two wings, and the Spaniards in the centre. The onset began between the cavalry of the Gauls in the Roman army, and the Spanish horse in the Carthaginian. The former, supported by the dartmen, who were drawn up in the intervals between the squadrons, sustained the shock of the Spanish horse with great resolution; but in the mean time the Numidians, taking a compass, attacked the Romans in flank, and, after an obstinate and long dispute, obliged them to give ground. Hereupon the Gauls, who had hitherto fought with great bravery, retired likewise in some confusion. Scipio, at the head of a small body of cavalry, endeavoured to animate his troops more by his example than by words, till he fell from his horse, dangerously wounded. Then the Romans, believing their general killed, fled with great precipitation; and Scipio would have been left upon the place, had not his son, attended by a few Roman knights, rescued, and carried him back to the camp.

Scipio, considering that the enemy was superior to him in horse, and consequently that it would be dangerous to give them battle in the champaign country, abandoned his camp, repassed the Po, and retired to Piacentia. Hannibal remained some time on the field of battle, in expectation that the legions would appear; but when he understood that the consul was decamped, he pursued him as far as the bridge over which he had passed the Ticinus; but finding it broken down, he took six hundred men, whom the Roman general had left to defend a small fort, and, without without loss of time, marched up the Ticinus, till he came to the banks of the Po, which he crossed on a bridge of boats. He then divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one to his brother Mago, with orders to pursue the enemy, while he remained in the neighbourhood of the Po, to receive the deputies of several Gaulish nations, whom his first advantage

had brought over to him. They engaged to supply him with as many men, arms, and provisions as he should want. Encouraged by these offers he marched forward, joined his brother, and took the road to Placentia, where the consul was encamped. Scipio, believing himself safe in that situation, thought of nothing but curing his own and his soldiers wounds. He was therefore surprised to see Hannibal advance within reach of his entrenchments, draw up his army, and offer him battle. Scipio, instead of accepting the challenge, fortified his camp; and Hannibal, not thinking himself strong enough to force the enemy's lines, encamped ten miles from him.

and advances to Placentia.

In the mean time an unexpected event augmented the apprehensions of the Romans, and increased the confidence of the enemy. About two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, of those Gauls who served in the consul's army, when all was quiet in the Roman camp, entered the tents that were next to them, murdered the Romans while they were asleep, and, cutting off their heads, made their escape to Hannibal. He invited them, with great promises, into his service; and gave them leave, for the present, to retire to their respective habitations, to spread the fame of this action, and engage their countrymen to serve the Carthaginians. At the same time ambassadors came to him from the Boii, with the three commissioners of the two Roman colonies, whom they had formerly taken by treachery. Hannibal received the deputies with great demonstrations of kindness; and left the three illustrious captives in their hands, that they might make use of them, as they had formerly proposed, to redeem their hostages^p.

Treachery of the Gauls in the Roman army.

Scipio not doubting that the Gauls, after their countrymen had acted so criminal a part, would declare for the enemy, resolved to leave his camp at Placentia, where he was surrounded on all sides by Gaulish nations, and to seek some post where his troops would not be so much intimidated by suspected neighbours. Accordingly he decamped the following night, and, passing the Trebia, a small river which falls into the Po, posted himself on an eminence near that river, in the neighbourhood of many of the allies of the Roman people. Hannibal, upon intelligence of the consul's march, detached his Numidian horse in pursuit of him, while he himself followed with the main body of the army. The Numidians, finding the

Scipio retires, and fortifies his camp.

^p Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 220. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 48.

*Hannibal
encamps
near Scipio.*

*Clasidium
delivered
up to him*

*Sempronius
arrives at
Arminium.*

*Encourag-
ed to ven-
ture an
engage-
ment.*

Roman camp evacuated, staid to set fire to it; and this delay gave the Romans time to pass the plains, and gain the eminences on the other side the river. Scipio entrenched himself in his new post, resolving not to leave it till his wound was cured, and his colleague Sempronius, whom he impatiently expected from Sicily, was arrived with another army. Hannibal encamped within five miles of them, on the other side the Trebia. Hither great numbers of Gauls flocked to him, insomuch that provisions grew scarce in his camp; but he soon supplied this want, by bribing one Dagus, a Brundusian, governor of Clastidium, where the Romans had fixed their magazines of arms and provisions, to deliver up the place to him; by which means he transferred the scarcity from his own camp to that of the Romans¹.

When news were brought to Rome of the battle of the horse, and the issue of that engagement, the senate was surpris'd. Some blamed Scipio; others imputed that misfortune to the perfidiousness of the Gauls, who, by their desertion, had given a proof of their treachery and hatred to the Romans; but after all, as the legions were entire, they assumed courage, not doubting but that fine body of foot would be able to stop the progress of the conqueror. Their confidence was heightened by the joyful tidings of the arrival of the consul Sempronius at Arminium, after a voyage of forty days from Sicily to that place. He immediately set out on his march, and in a few days joined his colleague on the banks of the Trebia. After he had refreshed his troops, and informed himself of the circumstances of the engagement upon the Ticinus, the strength of the enemy, and the character of their leader, impatient to enter upon action, he detached all his cavalry, contrary to the opinion of his colleague, with orders to pass the Trebia, and attack a party of Numidian and Gaulish horse, which Hannibal had sent out to lay waste the lands of those Gauls who adhered to the Romans. The trivial advantage he gained on this occasion made him resolve to hazard a general engagement. Scipio, whose wound confined him to his bed, did all that lay in his power to divert his colleague from so dangerous a design: he told him, that as soon as his strength would allow him to act, he had an enterprize to put in execution which, he was confident, would much redound to the service of his country; but this intimation, instead of diverting

¹ Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 220.

Sempronius from his first design, made him more eager to engage the enemy, before Scipio could appear in the field, to share with him the glory of the victory; and because that commander could not approve of his ill-timed eagerness for an engagement, he told him, that his mind was more affected than his body, and that his wound gave him an aversion to battles. Thus Sempronius, blinded with ambition, and pleased with the hopes of a complete victory, without Scipio's sharing in the honour of it, resolved to come to a pitched battle with the Carthaginians^r.

Hannibal, having learned the consul's design by spies, whom he sent into the Roman camp, detached the following night his brother Mago, with two thousand chosen men, half horse and half foot, ordering them to conceal themselves under the banks of a rivulet, and wait there till they should receive orders to quit their ambuscade. Early next morning the Carthaginian commanded a strong detachment of Numidian horse to march out, insult the enemy in their camp; and then, retiring slowly before the Roman cavalry, who he did not doubt would pursue them, to pass the Trebia, and enter the plain. The Numidians, pursuant to their orders, advanced to the consul's entrenchments, as if they intended to brave the Romans. Sempronius, impatient of this insult, first sent out his cavalry against them, then his dartmen, and lastly, marched out in person at the head of all his legionaries. The Romans had not yet taken any nourishment; besides, the day was very cold and snowy; and the nearer they drew to the river, the more sharp the wind blew: however, such was the eagerness of the consul to come up with the enemy, who had just passed the river on horseback, that he commanded the Roman infantry to leap into the water; an order which they obeyed without hesitation, though it reached to their waists. When they came out of the river, they found themselves so benumbed with cold that they could not handle their arms; besides, as the day was far advanced before they all got over, they felt the effects of hunger, while the Carthaginians had refreshed themselves with a plentiful repast, and anointed their bodies, to arm themselves against the cold^s.

The Romans no sooner appeared in the plain, than Hannibal formed his army in battalia. He placed eight thousand Spaniards, of the Balearic islands, armed with

Hannibal artfully provokes him to engage.

Hannibal draws up his army in order of battle.

^r Liv. lib. ii. cap. 54. lib. xxi. cap. 53, 54.

^s Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 221—227. Liv.

slings, in the advanced guard. These were supported by twenty thousand foot, Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans, all drawn up in one line, to make the larger front. His cavalry, to the number of ten thousand, most of them Gauls, were posted in the two wings; and at the two extremities of the main body were ranged the elephants, to cover the flanks of the army. Sempronius's troops consisted of sixteen thousand legionaries, twenty thousand auxiliary forces, a handful of Cenomani, the only Gauls who continued faithful to the Romans, and four thousand Roman horse. The consul formed his troops in the usual order, keeping the triarii for a body of reserve, and posting his cavalry in the wings. The two armies being thus posted, Hannibal, to keep his men warm, ordered them to march briskly against the enemy, who waited for them, shivering with cold, in the plain. However, at their approach, the Romans gave a shout, the trumpets sounded, and the attack began.

The consul draws up his men.

The two armies engaged.

The light-armed infantry on both sides made their discharges, the Balears throwing stones with their slings, and the Romans their little javelins; but this way of fighting did not last long, the Romans retiring within the spaces in their lines, and the Balears to the wings of their army. The main bodies of the two armies advanced, the cavalry moving with the lines they flanked; but the Roman horse, being just returned from pursuing the Numidians, and much fatigued, were soon put to flight by the Gaulish cavalry. The flanks of the consular army being thus exposed, the Numidians attacked them with great fury, and put them in confusion. Then Hannibal ordered his elephants to advance, a motion which increased the disorder of the Roman army; nevertheless, the legionaries in the second and third lines kept their ground, and fought with incredible bravery, till the Numidians, under the conduct of Mago, rising out of their ambuscade, attacked the rear. Then the legionaries, finding themselves surrounded on all sides, fought like men in despair, and, being headed by Sempronius, who was a man of great personal courage, cut their way through the battalions of Gauls and Africans, who opposed them, and retired in good order, to the number of ten thousand, to Placentia, their return to the camp being obstructed by the Trebia, and the victorious cavalry of the enemy, who, scouring the plain, cut all in pieces they met with. The allies in the wings endeavoured to regain their camp, but some were drowned in the river, others killed by the enemy,

The Romans behave with great gallantry;

enemy, while they were attempting to pass it; so that the rout was general, and the slaughter great. A small body of foot, and a party of horse, besides the ten thousand legionaries, made their escape, the enemy not being able, on account of the excessive cold, to pursue them beyond the river. Scipio, who continued indisposed in his tent, no sooner received the tidings of this defeat, than he decamped, and joined his colleague at Placentia ^{but are defeated.}.

Sempronius, to prevent a consternation at Rome, sent dispatches thither, acquainting the senate, that he had engaged the Carthaginian army, but that the severity of the season, and the coldness of the weather, had snatched the victory out of his hands. This account the Romans were at first willing to believe; but when they understood that Hannibal was master of the consul's camp, that all the nations of the Gauls declared for him, that the Roman forces had fled to the neighbouring colonies for refuge, and that the army had no provisions, but what were conveyed to them by water, the city was filled with terror, every one taking it for granted, that the conqueror would soon appear at their gates. Notwithstanding this consternation, intrigue had a greater share in the election of new consuls, than a due regard to the necessities of the state. As both the consuls were absent, the senate had passed a decree for nominating a dictator to preside in the comitia, when, to their great surprise, Sempronius arrived. Rashness had been always his character, and on this occasion it succeeded; for though the roads between Placentia and Rome were much infested by Gauls and Africans, yet Sempronius, without either disguise or guard, ventured to cross those countries, and got safe to Rome, where he presided in the comitia, when C. Flaminius was chosen ^{Rome in great consternation.}, a man without morals or religion, who had before signalized his consulship by disobeying the orders of the republic, and by an open contempt of the gods and auspices; but he had joined the tribunes of the people in promoting a law which confined commerce to the plebeians, and therefore was by them raised to the consulate a second time. The colleague appointed him was P. Servilius Geminus, a man of integrity, but of moderate abilities in war. It fell by lot to Flaminius to oppose Hannibal, and to the other to command an army in Cisalpine Gaul. In the same comitia, P. Cornelius Scipio, whose wound was not yet cured, was appointed ^{Sempronius gets safe to Rome.}.

* Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 227. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 55, 56.
lib. xxi. cap. 57.

• Liv.

to go into Spain in quality of proconsul, whither he had sent his brother to carry on the war against Asdrubal.

and returns to Placentia. The elections being finished, and the consulship of Sempronius not yet expired, he returned to Placentia, where he had taken up his quarters. Hannibal did not continue idle, notwithstanding the severity of the season, but made attempts on different places belonging to the Romans. The first was on a village on the banks of the Po, which the Romans had fortified, and made their magazine of corn; but Sempronius, hearing from Placentia the shouts of the garrison, hastened with all his cavalry to their relief, and obliged Hannibal, who was wounded on this occasion, to retire with great loss. The indefatigable Carthaginian, before his wound was cured, made a new attempt upon Viſtumviæ, a small city of Inſubria, which the Romans had built and fortified during their war with the Gauls. This place Hannibal took, and gave it to be plundered by his Africans, who committed such cruelties as had never before been practised in Italy.*

Viſtumviæ taken by Hannibal.

The senate at Rome provided every thing necessary for the next campaign. Forces were dispatched into Sicily and Sardinia, under the command of their proper prætors; and Tarentum, as well as the other cities on the coast, secured with strong garrisons, to prevent a descent. Sixty quinqueremes were equipped to cruise in the Mediterranean and Adriatic, and convoys sent into Cisalpine Gaul and Hetruria. Hannibal, finding the Gauls uneasy at his residing so long among them, began to grow jealous of that nation; and his apprehensions were such, that fearing they might make some attempt upon his life, he invented the use of false hair of several colours, which he changed several times a day, as well as his dress. Finally, he resolved to cross the Apennines, and enter Hetruria, at a time when those mountains were almost impassable. He was not aware of the storms which the wind raises on those high rocks, especially towards the end of winter; and therefore exposed his troops to great danger, in attempting to cross them at that season. So terrible an hurricane surprised him on his march, and the wind blew the snow, mixed with rain, so violently in the faces of his men, that, not being able to advance, they were forced to halt, and let the storm blow over. When the rain ceased, the wind became more violent; insomuch that, after they had in vain attempted to pitch their tents,

Hannibal attempts in vain to cross the Apennines.

* Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 57.

they were obliged to return to the plain. Hannibal lost a great many men, who were frozen to death, together with seven of the small number of elephants that still remained: however, his natural activity did not allow him to take any rest. Early next morning he marched out of his entrenchments, with twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and offered the consul Sempronius battle. The Roman general, always ready to engage, accepted the challenge; and, after a most obstinate dispute, which lasted till three hours after noon, repulsed the enemy to their camp. The rash consul, intoxicated with this success, attempted to force Hannibal's camp; but after he fatigued his men in this rash enterprize, he was forced to retreat. As the Romans were retiring, Hannibal having first sent detachments to attack them in flank, fell upon their rear with all his infantry. The Romans faced about, and the battle was renewed with such fury, as threatened a dreadful slaughter on both sides, if night coming on had not put an end to the contest ^z.

Offers the Romans battle; who repulse him.

The battle renewed.

As Hannibal had only postponed his design of entering Hetruria, he now began to enquire which was the best road to take: and being informed that there were two, the one longer, but more easy, the other shorter, but leading through marshy grounds scarce passable, he chose the latter, being prompted by his natural inclination to embark in such enterprizes as were apt to raise admiration, and strike terror into the enemy: being assured, that, though great part of the country through which he was to pass, lay under water, the bottom was sound, he ordered his army to begin their march. He placed the Spaniards and Africans, with their provisions, in the van, next to them the Gauls, and the horse in the rear. Mago, with a body of Numidians, kept hovering about the flanks of the army, to prevent the soldiers from straggling; and the Gauls, who were impatient of labour, from deserting. The Spaniards and Africans, who were inured to all sorts of hardships, took the water without hesitation; and, though they were half-way up the leg in mud, kept their ranks; but the Gauls marched with difficulty, the ground being broken by the multitudes of men, and beasts of burden, which went before. The whole army suffered unspeakable hardships on this march, being obliged to pass four days and nights, in the water and mire, without finding a dry place on which they could

Hannibal resolves to pass into Hetruria.

^z Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 58, 59.

He loses an eye.

take any rest. The horse of the Gauls were most of them lost by the way; a loss, which, however, proved some sort of relief to the soldiers, who made use of them, as they lay with their burdens above water, to take some repose, the want of which was their greatest torment. Great numbers of the Gauls sunk under the fatigue. Nor was Hannibal himself without his share of the inconveniencies of the march; for though he rode the only elephant he had left, yet, as he was before much affected with a defluxion in his eyes, the evil grew to such a height, by the unwholesome qualities of the damp air, that he lost one eye entirely ^a.

P. Cornelius Scipio's success in Spain.

Having thus passed the marshes, he encamped in Hetruria, where he was informed that Sempronius, immediately after his departure, had left Placentia, marched to Lucca, and there surrendered the command of it to the new consul Flaminius. We have observed above, that Flaminius obtained the consulship by the favour of the people, contrary to the inclination of the senate. Being therefore apprehensive, lest, when he came to be inaugurated, the augurs, influenced by his enemies, should find some pretence to render his election invalid, he left Rome, without performing the usual ceremonies of religion; and, putting himself at the head of the army, encamped with four legions under the walls of Aretium in Hetruria. The senators, provoked at this unprecedented step, sent deputies, ordering him to return to Rome, and perform there the usual ceremonies of religion; but Flaminius, without paying any regard to their orders, continued in his camp, and dismissed their deputies with scorn. His colleague Servilius, whose province was Cisalpine Gaul, was detained at Rome, to assist at various expiations, the people being much terrified by prodigies. P. Cornelius Scipio, being now cured of his wound, sailed for Spain, to join his brother Cneius, who had gained great advantages over Asdrubal. He had defeated the Carthaginian army, taken Hanno their commander, with Indibilis, a Spanish prince, and reduced the whole country bordering on the Iberus.

Though the news of these successes raised the courage of the senators, yet they were very anxious about the conduct of Flaminius, who had a crafty and experienced enemy to deal with. Hannibal, having learnt the true character of the consul, did not doubt that he should soon

^a Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 2. Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 230, 231.

bring

bring him to a battle: with this view he advanced towards Aretium, where the consul was encamped; and, taking the way to Rome, left the Roman camp behind him. Flaminius, looking on this conduct of the enemy as a personal affront, resolved to follow, and venture an engagement. All the officers of the army, in a council of war, endeavoured to divert him from so dangerous a resolution; but he, reproaching them with cowardice, rushed out of the council in a rage, and gave the signal both for marching and fighting. He mounted his horse in such a hurry, that he fell to the ground; an accident which was thought an ill omen. • At the same time he was told, that the ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, that the soldiers could not disengage them. This prodigy was no doubt feigned on purpose to keep him in the camp; but the consul, without paying any regard to such omens, ordered the standard-bearers to make use of spades and pick-axes, if they could not pull them up with their hands ^b. He then marched at the head of his troops, whose minds he so filled with hopes of victory, that the rabble, who followed the army for plunder, carrying with them chains and shackles to secure the prisoners, were as numerous as the soldiers.

Hannibal advances to Aretium.

Flaminius's rash conduct.

Hannibal, who had got the start of the consular army, by the terrible ravages he committed in the plains of Cortona provoked the consul to follow him, and at length drew him insensibly into an ambuscade. Adjoining to Cortona are some high hills, near a lake called Thrasymenus, now the lake of Perugia: between these mountains and the lake is a large valley, into which there is but one narrow passage. Through this defile Hannibal marched, and encamped his Spanish and African infantry in the valley: his light-armed foot he drew up in one long line, and posted them at the foot of the hills, on the left side of the valley; and with his horse he lined it on the right. Flaminius, without sending scouts before, to discover the situation of the enemy, entered the dangerous pass. As it was late when he arrived in the valley, he had only time to pitch his camp before it was dark. Seeing nothing but Hannibal's camp before him, he was under no apprehension; but as soon as the Romans began to march at break of day, they found themselves attacked on a sudden in front, in rear, and in flank; and yet, occasioned by a thick fog from the lake,

Is drawn into an ambuscade.

Yr. of Fl.
2144.
Ante Chr.
204.
U. C. 544.

The battle of Thrasymenus.

^b Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 233. Liv. lib. xlii. cap. 3.

could not perceive the enemy by whom they were galled. Flaminius heard from his post the cries of his soldiers in different places, and the groans of dying men in the very centre of his army; but as he could not, for the thickness of the fog, perceive whence the mischief came, he exhorted his soldiers (who, in their distress, were imploring the assistance of the gods) not to depend on idle prayers, but on their arms.^c

The Romans in great confusion,

The confusion of the Romans was inexpressible. Every one endeavoured to shift for himself, but was stopped either by his fellow-soldiers, who were flying as well as himself, or by the enemy, who surrounded them on all sides. The Romans, finding themselves enclosed in such a manner between the lake and the mountains, that there was no possibility of escaping, fought in despair: such was their eagerness and fury, that they were not sensible of an earthquake, which overturned many cities in Italy. The slaughter continued three hours without intermission. At length one Ducarius, an Insubrian in the Carthaginian army, knowing Flaminius, whom he had formerly seen laying waste his country with fire and sword, cried out, "There is the consul, who did so much mischief to our fields and cities; I will make him a victim to appease the manes of my countrymen." At these words, he rode forward, broke through the Romans who guarded their general, and struck his lance through his body. Flaminius fell down dead, and the Gaul was preparing to strip him; but the triarii covered him with their arms and bucklers. The Romans were now intimidated to such a degree, that some leaped into the lake, and were drowned; others attempted to climb over the mountains: a body of six thousand opened themselves a way through the narrow pass, sword in hand, and escaped to an eminence, whence they retired to a town in Hetruiria, and there intrenched themselves. Hannibal detached Maherbal after them with all his cavalry, and a great part of his infantry. The fugitives, being invested in the village, and destitute of provisions, surrendered to Maherbal, who promised them their lives and liberties. Hannibal, however, pretending that Maherbal had not been empowered by him to make such a promise, loaded the Romans with chains; but dismissed their allies, assuring them, that he was come into Italy to deliver them from the tyrannical yoke of Rome, and restore them that li-

Flaminius killed, and the Romans defeated.

^c Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 234, 236.

berty which their fathers had enjoyed. By this artful conduct he hoped to draw over to his side the friends and allies of Rome ^d.

After this victory, the conqueror ordered the dead to be numbered; and found that he had lost but fifteen hundred men; whereas the Romans had lost as many thousands upon the spot. The number of prisoners taken by Hannibal amounted, according to Plutarch, to ten thousand; according to Polybius, to fifteen thousand; but Livy and Valerius Maximus tell us, that six thousand only were made captives. About ten thousand Romans, most of them wounded, made their escape, and took the road to Rome, where few of them arrived, the rest dying of their wounds before they reached the capital. When news were brought to Rome of this great overthrow, the prætor Pomponius, knowing it could not be long concealed, mounted the rostra about sun-set, and to a numerous assembly, (even the women crowding to it, contrary to custom) pronounced the following words:

"We are overcome;" which struck all with such terror, that some who were present, and had been in the battle, found the effect of the defeat greater at Rome than it had been in the field. The dejection of the citizens was inexpressible. They hastened in crowds to the gates of the city, to wait for those who had escaped the slaughter, and to learn the particulars of the action. Two mothers were so transported with joy, one at the gate of the city, when she saw her son unexpectedly appear, the other at home, where she found her son, whom she had given up for lost, that they both expired on the spot ^e. In this general consternation, the senators alone preserved their equanimity. The prætor kept them sitting three days; but, before they came to any resolution, news were brought of a second defeat. The consul Servilius, having heard at Ariminum, that his colleague had resolved to give battle, had detached four thousand horse to his assistance, under the command of the proprætor Centenius; but Hannibal, hearing of this reinforcement immediately after the action, sent out Adherbal with all his cavalry, and a body of infantry; who meeting with the Roman horse, killed two thousand of them, and obliged the rest to take sanctuary on a neighbouring hill, where they were invested, and the next day forced to surrender ^f.

*Rome in
the utmost
consternation.*

*A detachment of
Roman
horse cut
in pieces,
or taken.*

^d Polyb. ubi supra. Liv. ibid. ^e Liv. ibid. cap. 7. ^f Polyb. ibid. cap. 236, & Liv. ibid. cap. 8.

*Fabius
Maximus
dictator.*

*The ver
sacrum.*

*Fabius
follows
Hannibal.*

The senate, judging that the republic wanted an absolute governor, without waiting for a nomination from the surviving consul, of their own authority named a dictator; but, from regard to the ancient custom, they gave him only the title of Prodictator. The person chosen was Fabius Maximus, surnamed Verrucosus, a man as cool and cautious in his conduct as Sempronius and Flaminius had been warm and impetuous. The people did not suffer him, as was customary for dictators, to name his general of the horse, but by their own authority pitched upon M. Minucius Rufus, a great favourite of the people, and a zealous partisan of the plebeian party ^z. The new dictator began the functions of his office, by commanding the decemviri to consult the Sibylline books, in order to learn from those mysterious oracles the causes of the present calamities. The decemviri reported, that the misfortunes of the republic were owing to the non-performance of a vow made by Aulus Cornelius, to sacrifice to Mars all the pigs, lambs, kids, and calves, that should be brought forth, from the first of March to the first of May. This is what the ancients called *ver sacrum* ^b. This vow being renewed, and several others made, the dictator took the field at the head of the army Servilius had commanded, to which he added two legions, appointing the city of Tibur for the place of rendezvous. From thence he sent orders to the country-people to burn their houses, and retire with all their effects into places of safety. Having taken this precaution, he set out on his march to meet Hannibal, not with a design to engage him, but to watch his motions, and cut off his provisions.

Accordingly he attended him through Umbria and Picenum, into the territory of Adria, and then through the countries of the Marrucini, and Frentani, into Apulia. When the enemy marched, he followed them; when they encamped, he halted likewise; but generally on eminences, and at some distance from their camp, watching their motions, cutting off stragglers, and keeping them in continual alarm. This cautious way of proceeding, which gained him the surname of Cunctator, greatly distressed the enemy; but at the same raised murmurs in the army. Minutius, who was a favourite of the people, and ambitious of the chief command, made no scruple to accuse the dictator of cowardice; but neither the

^z Plut. in Fab. p. 175.

^b Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 9, 10.

invectives of Minutius, nor the devastations which Hannibal committed in the countries of the allies of Rome, could induce Fabius to alter his measures. He still continued following the Carthaginian army, without hazarding a battle, and was never above one, or, at the most, two leagues from their quarters. Hannibal, convinced that the measures Fabius had taken must utterly ruin the Carthaginian army, did all that lay in his power to bring him to a battle. He ravaged Samnium, plundered the territory of Beneventum, a Roman colony, and laid siege to Telesia, a city at the foot of the Apennines. Finding that neither the ravaging of the country, nor even the taking of some cities, could make Fabius quit his eminences, he resolved to make use of a stronger bait, which was to enter Campania, the finest country in Italy, and lay it waste under the dictator's eyes, hoping by these means to bring him to an action. He ordered his guides, who were three Campanian horsemen in his army, to lead him to the territory of Casinum; but, as he spoke Latin very indifferently, he pronounced the word Casinum in such a manner, that the guides understood Casilinum, and led his troops into narrow passes, which divide Samnium from Campania, at a small distance from Casilinum. He had no sooner entered the streights, than Fabius, who watched all his motions, attacked his rear, put it into disorder, and killed about eight hundred of his men. Hannibal, thinking himself betrayed by his guides, ordered them all to be crucified ¹.

*Hannibal
mistaken by
a mistake of
his guides.*

The ravages he committed in Campania raised such complaints in the Roman army against the dictator, that he pretended to be as impatient of coming to a battle as Minutius; and accordingly marched after Hannibal with more expedition than usual; but, at the same time, avoided an engagement, under various pretences. He beheld, from the top of Mount Mafficus, the Carthaginians laying waste the fruitful plains of Falernum, without stirring from his post. At this inactivity both officers and soldiers began to mutiny, and hearken with pleasure to the invectives of Minutius. "We have indeed," said the general of the horse, "a noble leader! for fear of endangering our lives, he hides us in the clouds." When these and such-like sarcasms were reported to Fabius, he only replied, that he should be more cowardly than they

*Fabius
rallied by
his own
army.*

¹ Plut. in Fab. Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 12, 13. Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 239, 240.

supposed him, if, through fear of idle railleries, he neglected to follow the dictates of his reason; and continued the same conduct, notwithstanding he understood, that his precaution and delays were blamed even at Rome. Hannibal, perceiving he could not bring the dictator to a battle, resolved to quit Campania, which he found abounding more with fruit and wine than with corn, and to return into Samnium, through the pass called Eribanus. Fabius concluding from his march, that this was his design, got the start of him, and encamped on Mount Callicula, which commanded the pass, after having placed several bodies in all the avenues.

*Hannibal's
stratagem
to get
through
the pass
Eribanus.*

Hannibal was for some time at a loss how to proceed; but at last contrived the following stratagem, which Fabius could not foresee, nor guard against. Being encamped at the foot of Mount Callicula, he ordered Asdrubal to pick out of the cattle, taken in the country, two thousand of the strongest and nimblest oxen, to tie faggots to their horns, and to have them and the herdsmen ready without the camp. After supper, when all was quiet, the cattle were brought to the hill, where Fabius had placed some Roman parties in ambush to stop up the pass. Upon a signal given, the faggots on the horns of the oxen were set on fire; and the herdsmen, supported by some battalions armed with small javelins, drove them on quietly. The Romans, seeing the light of the fires, imagined that the Carthaginians were marching by torch-light. However, Fabius kept close in his camp, depending on the troops he had placed in ambuscade; but when the oxen, feeling the fire on their heads, began to run up and down the hills, the Romans in ambush, thinking themselves surrounded on all sides, abandoned their posts, and returned to their camp. Then Hannibal entered the pass; and, getting safe through with his army and baggage, gained the plain before day-light, and encamped near Allisæ, on the confines of Samnium and Campania. Fabius, though rallied by his soldiers for having been thus over-reached by the Carthaginian, still pursued the same measures, marched directly after Hannibal, and encamped on the eminences near Allisæ^{*}.

From thence he followed him into Apulia, intercepting many of his stragglers and convoys; but when he came to Larinum, in the country of the Frentani, he received a letter from the senate, recalling him to Rome,

^{*} Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 243—245. Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 15—18.

on pretence of a solemn sacrifice, which required his presence; and then the virtue of this great man was put to a severe trial. Not only the multitude, but even the senators, had imbibed prejudices against him. As Hannibal had artfully spared his lands in the general devastation, they began to suspect him of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy. Of this groundless suspicion they gave a proof, by refusing to send him a sum of money for the redemption of two hundred and forty-seven captives, whom Hannibal had released, pursuant to an agreement between him and the dictator concerning the exchange of prisoners: but this ingratitude of the senate served only to heighten the lustre of his virtue; for, as he was a religious observer of his word, he ordered his son to sell his lands; and, with the money, paid the sum stipulated ¹.

Fabius recalled to Rome.

The dictator, upon his leaving the army, commanded his general of the horse not to hazard a battle during his absence; but Minutius, without regarding his orders, immediately sent out strong parties to attack the Carthaginian foragers; and in two bloody skirmishes, cut many of them in pieces, and took from them all their booty. The news of this success reaching Rome before the dictator, he found, on his arrival, both the senate and people prepossessed against him, and in favour of his general of the horse. Metilius, a tribune of the people, made an harangue to the multitude in the presence of Fabius, full of accusations against him; but the dictator, thinking it beneath him to make an apology, addressed himself to the assembly in the following words: "Fabius cannot be suspected by his country." Then with an air of grandeur and intrepidity, "Romans (said he), let us make haste to finish the religious ceremonies, which detain me from returning to the army. I have a refractory man to chastise, and a breach of military discipline to punish. I forbid Minutius to give battle; but he has disobeyed my orders, and I must make an example of him." The friends of Minutius, struck dumb by this declaration, began to consult how they could screen him from the severity of a magistrate invested with an uncontrollable power. Metilius advised the people to give the general of the horse an equal authority with the dictator. Terentius Varro was the only tribune whom Metilius could prevail upon to second his motion. He was the son of a butcher, and had followed his father's profession in his youth; but had

In his absence Minutius gains some small advantages over the enemy.

¹ Plut. in Fab. Polyb. ibid. Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 18.

forfaken

forfeited that mean calling, and, by the favour of the people, obtained first the prætorship, and afterwards the tribuneship. Now he aspired to the consulate; and therefore, seeing the people greatly inclined to favour Minutius, he did not scruple to promote his fortune at the expence of his honour. He seconded Metilius, and got the law passed, establishing, by an unheard-of innovation, an equality between the dictator and his general of the horse; the senate being mean-spirited enough to confirm this absurd law. Fabius, having assisted at the sacrifice to which he had been called, and presided at the election of a new consul, who was Attilius Regulus, in the room of Flaminius, had left Rome before the decree was confirmed by the senate, but was overtaken on the road by a messenger, enjoining him, in the name of the Roman people and senate, to give his general of the horse an equal share of the command^m.

*Minutius
put upon
an equal
footing
with him.*

*They di-
vide the
army.*

When he arrived at the camp, Minutius proposed, that each should take his turn in the command of the whole army for a day, or a week; but Fabius chose to divide the army, and to command his share separately, hoping by that partition to save at least a part of the Roman forces. The army being divided, the two generals did not remove far from each other, but encamped at a due distance, Fabius on the hill, and Minutius a little below him, almost in the plain. Hannibal posted himself opposite the latter, and soon brought him to an engagement, in which, by the masterly skill of the Carthaginian in laying ambushes, he was surrounded on every side, and would have been cut off with all his troops, had not Fabius, sacrificing his private resentment to the welfare of his country, hastened to his relief. That brave Roman, moved with compassion at the sight of the slaughter that was made of his countrymen, rushed down like a torrent from his hills, fell upon the enemy where Minutius was most pressed, cut all in pieces who opposed him, and put the rest into the utmost confusion. Then Minutius's troops rallying, the two armies united, and advanced in good order to renew the fight; but Hannibal sounded a retreat, and retired to his camp. He was heard to say, as he marched back, "I have always foreseen, that the cloud which appeared so constantly on the mountains, would, some time or other, break out into a storm, and discharge itself upon our heads." After the action, Minutius and Fabius returned to their respective camps. The latter did not drop a word

*Fabius
joins his
colleague.*

^m Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 53. Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 25, 26. Plut. in Fab.

which

which favoured of ostentation, or of contempt for his colleague; and Minutius did justice both to himself and to Fabius. Having assembled his troops, he told them, he had learnt by experience, that he was not born to command; but that obedience ought to be his province; and that he was therefore resolved to return to the station which he had presumptuously left. "Come then, dear fellow-soldiers, (said he), let us go and offer our services to the dictator, and put ourselves again wholly under his conduct. Let him command alone, since he alone is fit to be the soul of so great a body. I will call him father; and you ought to give his soldiers, who delivered you, the title of patrons. It will be a greater glory for us to have conquered ourselves, than to have conquered Hannibal."

Having thus spoken, he immediately marched with his legions to the dictator's camp, presented himself before him, made his acknowledgements, and resigned the authority with which he had been entrusted. He declared, that he should think himself happy, if the dictator would only continue him in his office of general of the horse; and begged that none of his officers might be degraded, since his rashness alone had brought dishonour upon them. Fabius tenderly embraced him; granted what he asked; and the day, which began with so much terror, ended with universal joy in the camp. The six months of the dictatorship being soon after expired, Fabius returned to Rome, after having resigned the command of the army to the consuls Servilius and Atilius, who, imitating the conduct of Fabius, watched from the eminences the enemy's motions, without giving Hannibal, for the remainder of their year, an opportunity of attacking them.

Minutius resigns his new authority.

During these transactions in Italy, Cneius Scipio made a surprising progress in Spain. All the nations between the Iberus and the Pyrenees submitted to him, and put him in possession of a hundred cities. The Celtiberians entered into an alliance with him, and, engaging Asdrubal, defeated him in two pitched battles; killed five thousand of his men, and took four thousand prisoners. This was the state of the Roman affairs in Spain; when P. Scipio, the brother of Cneius, arrived in that country with the character of proconsul, with eight thousand Roman troops. With this additional strength the two brothers passed the Iberus, and, penetrating into the heart of the

State of affairs in Spain.

^a Polyb. cap. 254. Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 28—30. Plut. ibid.
^b Polyb. Liv. lib. xxii. ibid. Plut. in Fab.

Carthaginian provinces, marched towards Saguntum, which Hannibal had rebuilt before he left Spain, and secured with a strong garrison, under the command of Bostar, a Carthaginian, having placed in it all the young noblemen, whom he had obliged their parents to put into his hands, as pledges of their fidelity. As these hostages prevented the Spanish lords from revolting to the Romans, the two Scipios marched to Saguntum, in order to set them free. Their design was executed by one Abelo, a Spanish officer in the garrison, who having an inclination to go over to the Romans, persuaded Bostar, that it would be for the Carthaginian interest to oblige the Spanish noblemen by a release of their children, urging, that, if the Romans should take the place, and restore them to their parents, many nations would declare for them. He offered to conduct the hostages to their respective countries; but the inconsiderate Carthaginian had no sooner given his consent to this motion, than Abelo, repairing in the night to the Roman camp, acquainted the proconsul with what he had done; and it was agreed between them, that the following night a detachment of Romans should lie in ambush, and surprise the youths and their leader. The project was happily executed; and Scipio, by sending the hostages to their parents, secured such an interest in the country, that he was stronger there than the Carthaginians.

C. Terentius Varro and Lucius Æmilius Paulus consuls.

Eight legions raised in Rome.

The time for a new election drawing near, one of the consuls named a dictator to preside in the comitia, it not being safe for either of them to leave the army. The person named was L. Veturius Philo; but the augurs finding some defect in his nomination, he was forced to abdicate, and give place to an interregnum; when Terentius Varro was chosen to the consulate, in opposition to the utmost efforts of the body of the nobility. The colleague given him was Æmilius Paulus, an enemy to the plebeians, as Varro was to the patricians. Servilius and Attilius were continued, in quality of proconsuls, at the head of the armies, but with orders to act under the direction of the new consuls. That Terentius, who was a great favourite of the people, might have the glory of conquering Hannibal, eight legions were raised, consisting each of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and the allies were ordered to furnish the republic with double their contingents both of horse and foot. The

winter being employed in these preparations, the consuls took the field early in the spring, and, arriving at the camp, found affairs in a good condition, Servilius and Attilius having avoided a general action, and in some skirmishes gained considerable advantages. Hannibal, soon after the arrival of the new consuls, whose army consisted in all of eighty-seven thousand men, being in want of provisions, resolved to leave Samnium, and penetrate into the heart of Apulia.

Accordingly he decamped in the night; and, by leaving fires burning, and tents standing, in his camp, made the Romans believe for some time, that his retreat was only feigned. When the truth was discovered, Æmilius was against pursuing him; but Terentius, contrary to the opinion of all the officers in the army, except the proconsul Servilius, was obstinately bent on following the enemy, whom he overtook at Cannæ, till this time an obscure city in Apulia. It stood on the banks of the Aufidus, in a vast plain, five miles from Canusium, and six from the Adriatic sea. Here Hannibal halted, not only because he found a magazine of corn in the place, but because he thought the open country about it very proper for a battle, there being room enough for his horse to act; and the main strength of his army consisted in his cavalry. The consuls being divided in opinion, courier after courier was sent to Rome, and even Æmilius went thither himself to receive the orders of the senate, who judged it necessary to fight the enemy, but advised Terentius to avoid an action for some time. Mean while, Hannibal took post on the banks of the river, and disposed all things as if he were just going to battle. His troops had the sun behind them at noon; so that the Romans might be exposed not only to the inconvenience of too great a light, but, to that of great clouds of dust, which the south-west wind, that blows almost every day in Apulia, would drive into their faces.

The consuls were no sooner within reach of Cannæ, than a dispute arose between them. Æmilius was for encamping on the eminences, where the enemy's cavalry, which was far superior to theirs, could not act; and accordingly, when it was his turn to command, he pitched his camp among the hills; but Terentius next day advanced into the plain, and brought the army into such a situation, that Æmilius could not retire, without exposing the army to great danger. He therefore fortified two camps, the greater on the west side of the river, and the

Hannibal decamps in order to enter Apulia.

The consuls divided in their opinion.

Hannibal posts himself advantageously.

New disagreement between the consuls.

Varro resolves to venture an engagement.

Disposition of the armies at the battle of Cannæ.

The armies engage.

lesser on the east, and opened a communication between them by a bridge. There was no longer the least harmony between the consuls; they had quite different maxims, and pursued opposite measures, each succeeding day destroying the projects of the preceding^a. Hannibal, perceiving that the Romans could not long avoid a general action, harangued his troops, drew them up in battalia, and defied the enemy. Æmilius, whose day it was to command, knowing that Hannibal would be soon obliged to decamp for want of provisions, despised his bravadoes, and kept close in his entrenchments; but next morning, by break of day, Terentius, whose turn it was to give orders, marched into the great plain, where the little camp was pitched, and drew up his forces after the usual manner, the hastati in the first line, the principes in the second, and the triarii in the third. The cavalry were posted on the wings. In the right the Roman knights flanked the legionaries, in the left the cavalry of the allies covered their own infantry. The two consuls commanded the two wings, Æmilius in the right, and Terentius in the left; and the two proconsuls, Servilius and Attilius, directed the main body. Hannibal, whose army consisted of forty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, placed his Gaulish and Spanish cavalry in his left wing, to face the Roman knights, and posted the Numidian horse in his right, to oppose the cavalry of the allies of Rome. He divided the African battalions into two bodies, one of which he posted near the Gaulish and Spanish horse, the other near the Numidian cavalry. Between these two bodies were placed, on one side the Gaulish, on the other the Spanish infantry, drawn up in such a manner, as to form a kind of obtuse angle, projecting a considerable way beyond the two wings. Behind this first line he formed a second, which had no projection. Asdrubal commanded the left wing, Maharbal the right, and Hannibal, with his brother Mago, conducted the main body.

The attack was begun with the light-armed infantry; the Romans discharged their javelins, and the Balears their stones, with equal success; nevertheless the consul Æmilius was wounded. Then the Roman cavalry in the right wing advanced against the Gaulish and Spanish horse in Hannibal's left wing. As they were shut in by the river on one side, and their infantry on the other, they

^a Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 44. Plut. in Fab.
262—267. Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 45—50.

^b Polyb. lib. iii.

did not fight, as usual, by charging and wheeling off, and then returning to the charge; but continued fighting each man against his adversary, till one of them was killed, or retired. After they had made inconceivable efforts on both sides to unhorse each other, they on a sudden dismounted, and fought on foot, man to man, with incredible fury. This attack was short but bloody; the Gauls and Spaniards prevailed; put the Romans to the rout; and, pursuing them along the river, strewed the ground with their dead bodies, Asdrubal giving no quarter. This action was scarce over, when the infantry advanced on both sides. The Romans first attacked the Spaniards and Gauls, who, as we have observed above, formed a kind of triangle, projecting beyond the two wings. These gave ground, and, pursuant to Hannibal's directions, fell back into the space in their rear; by which means they insensibly brought the Romans, who followed them with more ardour than caution, into the entre of the African infantry, and then rallying, attacked them in front, while the Africans charged them on both their flanks. The Romans being, by this artful retreat, drawn into the snare, and surrounded, no longer kept their ranks, but formed several platoons, in order to face every way.

*The Roman
horse de-
feated.*

Æmilius, who was in the right wing, seeing the danger of the main body, put himself at the head of the legionaries, who were his only hope, after the defeat of the cavalry, and acted the part both of a soldier and general, and penetrated into the very centre of the enemy's battalions. All the Roman cavalry that was left, sustained the brave consul on foot, and encouraged by his example, fought like men in despair; but in the mean time Asdrubal, at the head of a detachment of Gaulish and Spanish infantry drawn from the centre, attacked the fatigued legionaries with such fury, that they were forced to give ground. Æmilius, covered with wounds and blood, was too weak to reach the camp. Being deserted by his men, he sat down on a stone, and in that condition was found by one Lentulus, a tribune, in his retreat. This officer, knowing the consul, immediately dismounted, and offered him his horse; but Æmilius replied with a faint voice, "I have lived long enough, dear Lentulus; fly, and let me die. Take care to give the senate timely notice of our misfortunes, that they may guard and fortify Rome; and tell Fabius, that I have followed the advice he gave me at our parting, to the very last." Then Lentulus retired, and the enemy's cavalry, who pursued the Romans, com-

*The gallant
behaviour
of Æmi-
lius.*

He is killed;

Yr. of Fl.

2145.

Ante Chr.

203.

U. C. 545.

and the Romans defeated with great slaughter.

ing up, killed the consul without knowing who he was, Thus fell one of the bravest consuls, and best citizens, that Rome had ever produced¹.

In the main body, the Romans, though surrounded on all sides, continued to fight in platoons, and made a great slaughter of the enemy: but being at length over-powered, and disheartened by the loss of the two proconsuls Servilius and Attilius, who headed them, they dispersed and fled; and the Numidian horse, more fit for a pursuit than a pitched battle, cut most of them in pieces. The whole plain was covered with dead bodies; insomuch that Hannibal ordered his men to desist. As for Terentius Varro, the author of all these misfortunes, after the Numidians had put the wing he commanded into confusion, he, without attempting to rally his men, fled to Venusia with only seventy horse. In this bloody action at least forty-five thousand Romans were left dead upon the spot; including one consul, two proconsuls, two military questors, twenty-nine legionary tribunes, and fourscore senators or magistrates who had a right of voting in the senate. Among the rest, Minutius was killed, who had been general of the horse under Fabius. About seventeen thousand of the right wing had fled to the two camps, ten thousand to the great camp, and seven thousand to the other. The former having lost their officers, and expecting to be invested next day, invited the latter to join them, that they might march away together in the night, and take refuge in Canusium, a strong city not far off. It was with the utmost difficulty that Sempronius Tuditanus, a legionary tribune, could prevail upon any of those in the little camp to agree to his proposal, they being afraid, lest the enemy should intercept them in passing from one camp to the other: however, the bravest of them drew up into a cuneus, that is, in the form of a wedge, marched out in good order, and arrived safe at the great camp, where they joined their fellow-soldiers, marched away before day-break, and reached Canusium in safety².

In the Carthaginian camp the night was spent in feasting and rejoicings. Hannibal had never gained a more complete or more seasonable victory. As soon as the day returned, he beheld, with infinite satisfaction, the whole plain covered with Romans, who had been slain in the

¹ Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 45—50. Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 48, 49. Plut. in Fab. Appian. de Bell. Hannib. 323—328. ² Liv. ibid. cap. 50, 54.

action, while, in surveying the field of battle, he found, that his loss amounted to no more than four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Africans and Spaniards, and about two hundred horse. He took, in the action and in the pursuit, ten thousand prisoners. Such a number of knights are said to have been found dead on the field, that three bushels of their rings were sent to Carthage. Immediately after the victory, Mahibal pressed Hannibal to march directly to Rome, and besiege that capital; but he rejecting that advice, Mahibal took the liberty to tell him, that he knew how to conquer, but knew not how to use and improve his victories^a. Hannibal continued on the field of battle, allowing the soldiers to strip the dead, and gather up the booty, which the Romans had left on the plain. On this occasion the Carthaginians, among other shocking objects, found a Numidian yet alive, lying under the dead body of a Roman, who had thrown himself headlong on his enemy, and beat him down; but being no longer able to make use of his weapons, because he had lost his hands, had torn off the nose and ears of the Numidian with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired^b.

The Carthaginians, having stript the dead bodies of the unhappy Romans, their victorious general invested the two camps, which he easily made himself master of, there being none in them but wounded men, or those who had not courage to retire with their companions to Canusium. They all surrendered upon condition of paying ransom, and were allowed to march out with their cloaths, but without arms.

*The two
Roman
camps
taken.*

Among those Romans who had fled to Canusium, were four legionary tribunes; and of these the soldiers chose two to be their chief commanders, namely, Appius Claudius Pulcher, and young Scipio, the son of the proconsul in Spain, who was at this time but eighteen years of age. While Scipio was deliberating with his colleague what measures to take, notice was given him, that the young nobility among the troops were assembled in a house, contriving how to leave Italy, and retire to some of those kings who were friends to Rome, which they gave up for lost. Upon this intimation the young tribune, filled with zeal, took with him a band of soldiers, surpris'd the cowards, and, with his sword drawn, came up to Cæcilius Metellus, the author of this pernicious design, whom

*A danger-
ous conspi-
racy sup-
pressed.*

^a Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 51.

^b Idem ibid.

he addressed thus: "I call the great Jupiter to witness, that I will never depart my country, nor will I suffer any man to do it. This I solemnly swear; and do you, Cæcilius, either take the same oath, or die." The fear of death made them all take the same oath; and then Scipio secured them with a strong guard*. Thus this young Roman, whom we shall afterwards see honoured with the glorious surname of Africanus, signalized his zeal for the public welfare on his first entering upon public life. The consul Terentius, since his arrival at Venusia, had been joined by five thousand of the fugitives. With these troops he marched to Canusium, as soon as he heard that there were six thousand more in that place, and joined his own to them; so that the whole had now the appearance of a consular army†.

Great consternation at Rome.

Measures taken after the defeat at Cannæ.

In the mean time it was reported at Rome, that both consuls were killed; and that, of eighty-seven thousand men there was scarce one left alive. Never was the city filled with more terror. All the Roman constancy was necessary to prevent the fatal consequences of so shocking a calamity: for want of consuls the prætors assembled the senators, who could hardly give their opinions, being every moment interrupted by the cries of the people, and the shrieks of the women, who lamented the loss of their husbands, children, or fathers. As the conduct of Fabius was now fully justified by the defeat of Terentius, his counsel was listened to and followed. He advised them to send to the Appian and Latin Ways, horsemen well mounted, to learn from the fugitives the state of affairs; what was become of the consuls; to what place the remains of the army had retired; where Hannibal was encamped; what he was doing; and what he designed to do: that the women should, by decree, be forbidden to appear in public, and disturb the city with their outcries and lamentations: that, when any courier arrived, he should be brought privately, and without any noise, to the prætors: and that no person should be suffered to go out of the city, lest it should be deserted. This advice was applauded; the crowds that filled the streets were dispersed; and each senator undertook to keep every thing quiet in his own neighbourhood‡. Such was the situation of affairs, when a courier arrived from Terentius with letters, importing that the Roman army had been

* Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 53.

† Ibid. cap. 55.

‡ Idem ibid. cap. 54.

Idem

defeated;

defeated; that Æmilius was slain; that Terentius was at Canusium, employed in assembling the remains of the troops; that about ten thousand men of different corps had joined him, most of them without officers; that Hannibal was still encamped at Cannæ, and busy in fixing the ransoms of the prisoners he had taken. At the same time a vessel arrived from Sicily with letters from the prætor Otacilius, acquainting the senate, that a Carthaginian squadron was ravaging the coast of Syracuse, and waiting for an opportunity to make a descent. The conscript fathers, in the midst of these perplexities, behaved with incredible constancy, and, assembling daily, made the necessary preparations for the defence both of Italy and Sicily^a.

Marcellus, a hero already honoured with an extraordinary triumph, for having defeated the Gauls, and killed their king in single combat, had been appointed prætor of Sicily, and was now employed in equipping a fleet at Ostia. But the senate ordered him from thence into Apulia, to take the command of the army at Canusium, in the room of Varro, who was recalled. Marcellus, pursuant to his orders, set out immediately for Rome, and from thence repaired to Canusium, where he found a body of about fourteen thousand men. Upon his arrival Varro left Canusium, and returned to Rome (R).

Marcellus appointed to command the army.

As the present situation of affairs required an absolute magistrate, the senators, of their own authority, appointed M. Junius Pera, who had borne the offices of prætor, censor, and consul, to be dictator; and he chose Tib. Sempronius Gracchus for his general of the horse. Junius made it his whole business to put the army in a condition to oppose the victorious enemy. All the young Romans, above seventeen years of age, were obliged to enlist themselves; as were also those who had already served their legal time. By these means four legions,

M. Junius Pera dictator.

^a Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 56.

(R) It is almost incredible, that the author of so many, both public and private calamities, should be received with respect either by the senate or people. All the senators in a body, attended with crouds of people, went out to meet him, and thank him for “not having despaired of the republic (1).” The senate and people offered him the dictatorship, which he refused, and, by his modest refusal, wiped off, in some measure, the shame of his former behaviour (2).

(1) Plut. in Fab. Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 61. lib. iii. cap. 6.

(2) Val. Max.

*Slaves in-
lified in the
Roman
troops.*

and ten thousand horse, were soon raised in the city. The allies of Rome, the colonies, and the municipia, furnished their contingents, as usual. To these were added, out of the great number of slaves in Rome, eight thousand of the youngest and strongest. The republic purchased them of their masters, but did not oblige them to serve without their own consent, which they gave, when asked, by answering, *Volo, I am willing*; whence they were called volones, to distinguish them from the other corps by a name less odious than that of slaves. As the Romans, after the loss of so many battles, had no swords, darts, or bucklers, left in their magazines, the volones were supplied with the arms which had been formerly taken from the enemy, and hung up in the public porticoes and temples. The finances of Rome were no less exhausted; but this defect was supplied by the liberality of her citizens. The senators, shewing the example, were followed first by the knights, and afterwards by all the tribes, who, stripping themselves of all the gold they had, brought it to the public treasury. As for the silver coin, it was now for the first time alloyed with copper, and the value of it raised ^b.

*Hannibal
allows the
Roman
prisoners
to redeem
themselves.*

In the mean time Hannibal, wanting money, gave the Roman prisoners leave to redeem themselves. The ransom of each horsemen he fixed at five hundred denarii, that is, sixteen pounds two shillings and eleven pence; that of each foot-soldier at three hundred, and of each slave at one hundred. As for the allies of Rome, notwithstanding his want of money, he dismissed them, agreeable to his former practice, without ransom. The Roman captives agreed to send ten of their body to negotiate their redemption at Rome; and Hannibal required no other security for their return, but their oath. Carthalo was sent at the head of them to make proposals of peace to the republic, which Hannibal imagined she would be glad to purchase at any rate: but, upon the first report of Carthalo's arrival to treat of a peace, the dictator sent a licitor to him, commanding him forthwith to quit the Roman territory. As for the ten deputies, the senate, considering them as foreigners since their captivity, did not suffer them to enter the city, but met them without the walls, to hear what they had to offer in behalf of themselves, and their fellow-captives. After a warm debate, it was resolved, that no money should be expended

^b Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 57, 58. Plut. in Fab. Flor. lib. ii.

for the redemption of those unhappy men, who, it was pretended, had acted the part of cowards, in not retiring with their fellow-soldiers to Canusium. The prisoners being thus left to the mercy of the Carthaginians, he sent the most considerable to Carthage, and of the rest made gladiators, obliging them to fight with one another, even relations with relations; for the entertainment of his troops.

The Romans refuse to redeem their captives.

At length Hannibal left Cannæ, and took his route towards Compsa, a city of the Hirpini, near the head of the Aufidus, which surrendered to him, and was the first that fell off from the Romans. From thence he turned towards Capua, the inhabitants of which city, thinking the time now come to shake off the Roman yoke; and recover their ancient liberty, sent deputies to treat with Hannibal, who promised them an entire liberty and independence. He, moreover, agreed to put into their hands four hundred Roman knights, to be exchanged with the same number of Capuan youths that were in the service of Rome. Upon these conditions the Capuans surrendered their city to Hannibal. As to the Roman garrison, the people contrived to shut them up in the public baths, where they were suffocated. When Hannibal made his entry, all the people crowded to meet him, except Decius Magius, a friend of the Romans, and a small number of the nobility, among whom was Perola, the son of Pacuvius, who had been the chief author of the revolt. Perola was afterwards obliged by his father to pay his homage to Hannibal; but as he had imbibed the sentiments of Magius, he afterwards formed a design to stab the Carthaginian general at an entertainment. But Pacuvius, to whom he imparted his intention, in hopes of gaining his consent, dissuaded him from it; and Hannibal escaped this danger. Next day the senate of Capua being assembled, Hannibal complained to them of the disaffection of Magius, who was thereupon delivered up to him, loaden with irons, and by his orders put on board a ship bound for Carthage. The vessel being driven by a storm into the port of Cyrene, a city belonging to the king of Egypt, the illustrious prisoner ran and embraced the statue of Ptolemy Philopator. The Carthaginians not daring to drag him from that sanctuary, he appealed to the king, and was conducted to Alexandria, where Ptolemy received him with great humanity, and gave him

Capua submits to Hannibal.

leave to return either to Capua, or to Rome; but he chose to continue at Alexandria, under the protection of his deliverer ^d.

*Mago re-
cites Han-
nibal's vic-
tories to the
senate of
Carthage;*

Hannibal dispatched his brother Mago to give an account at Carthage of his success. He acquainted the senate, that Hannibal, in six pitched battles, had killed two hundred thousand Romans, and taken fifty thousand prisoners; and that the Apulians, Brutians, Lucanians, and Campanians, had submitted to the Carthaginian dominion. So much good fortune seemed incredible; and Mago was not believed, till he gave a glaring proof of it, by spreading abroad in the senate-house a bushel of rings, taken from the Roman knights and senators. Having thus prepossessed the senate in favour of his brother, he proceeded to solicit succours for him, that he might be enabled to carry on so successful a war. The request was approved, and the Barcan faction triumphed. Himilco, the head of it, turning to Hanno, as it were to insult him, "Well, (said he), has the war turned to the disadvantage of our country? Must we deliver up Hannibal to the Romans?"

*and de-
mands
supplies.*

Hanno, notwithstanding these flattering appearances, made a very sensible speech, recommending peace with the Romans, who, notwithstanding all those defeats, had as yet betrayed no signs of despondency, nor made the least advance towards a submission to the victor. But, maugre all his remonstrances, an immediate supply of four thousand Numidians, forty elephants, and a thousand talents of silver, were, by a plurality of voices, decreed for the army in Italy ^e.

*Asdrubal
ordered
into Italy;*

At the same time, a commissioner was sent with Mago into Spain, with powers to raise levies, to be equally divided between the Carthaginian armies in Spain and Italy. Asdrubal, who had just obtained a signal victory over the revolted Spaniards, and subdued the country of the Carpetani, was ordered to leave Spain, and march with his array to the assistance of his brother in Italy. In his room Himilco was sent into Spain, with a competent army, and a sufficient number of galleys, to maintain the dominion of the seas. In the mean time the two Scipios, hearing that Asdrubal was advancing towards the Iberus, in his way to the Pyrenees, and knowing of what dangerous consequences it would be for Rome, that Hannibal should

^d Plut. in Hannibal. Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 1—9.
lib. xxiii. cap. 11—13.

^e Liv.

receive so strong a reinforcement, resolved to oppose his passage. With this view they passed that river; and, having brought Asdrubal to a general engagement, gained a victory, which prevented the Carthaginian for some years from penetrating into Italy. Thus the two Scipios, by their victories, and prudent conduct, in Spain, made Rome amend for the losses she sustained in Italy ^f.

but is defeated in Spain by the two Scipios.

The dictator Junius, and the senate, encouraged by the news they received from Spain, carried on their preparations for the next campaign with great expedition, while Hannibal was losing his time at Capua, captivated with the bewitching pleasures of that place. The dictator released from prison all criminals, and persons confined for debt, who were willing to enlist themselves. Of these he formed a body of six thousand foot, armed with the broad swords and bucklers which had been formerly taken from the Gauls. Then the Roman army, to the number of about twenty-five thousand men, composed, of citizens, slaves, and criminals, marched out of Rome, under the command of the dictator ^g. The remains of Varro's army, about fifteen thousand men, were kept by Marcellus at Casilinum, in readiness to march whenever there should be occasion. At length Hannibal began to move from Capua, in order to subdue the rest of Campania: he made a fruitless attempt upon Neapolis, and then turned towards Nola; but the inhabitants of that city were kept steady by the presence of Marcellus, who, leaving Casilinum, passed the Volturnus, crossed the mountains of Sueffala with incredible expedition, and unexpectedly appeared before Nola ^h. Then the Carthaginian, after having made another unsuccessful attempt upon Neapolis, fell upon Nuceria, which, for want of provisions, was obliged to capitulate. From Nuceria he returned to Nola, with a design to besiege it, Marcellus having shut himself up in the place with all his troops.

Criminals, and prisoners for debt, enlisted at Rome.

Hannibal takes Nuceria.

The inhabitants were much inclined to favour Hannibal; and their affection for the Carthaginian was cherished by a young man of known valour, and great interest among the people, named Bantius. He had served in the Roman armies with credit, and signalized himself at the battle of Cannæ, fighting near the consul Æmilius, till, being covered with wounds, he dropped down on the field of battle, where he was found next day, and brought

^f Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 26, 27. ^{ibid.}

^g Liv. *ibid.* cap. 14.

^h *Idem.*

to Hannibal. As none of his wounds proved mortal, Hannibal, understanding that he was a native of Nola, took great care of him, and, when he was cured, sent him home without ransom. This generosity had its due effect on the mind of Bantius. He returned to Nola wholly in the Carthaginian interest, and gained over many of the chief citizens to his party. Marcellus could have easily destroyed him, but he chose rather to gain him over. One day, when he came to wait on Marcellus, the Roman, pretending not to know him, asked his name. "My name (replied the young warrior, with a great deal of modesty) is Bantius." "What have you the famous Bantius, (answered the general) to come and be beaten at Rome? I have often heard of you, and know you so well, that a Roman consul fell into the enemy's hands. How much blood did you lose in endeavouring to save his life? What pleasure is it to me, to see and embrace a brave man, who does honour to his country, and may be the means of saving Rome?" Then Marcellus to embraces added presents, and rekindled in his heart his attachment to Rome. The recovery of this man brought many Nolans over to Marcellus, who was informed by them of all the secrets of the Carthaginian party.¹

Marcellus gains an advantage over Hannibal.

This was the situation of affairs at Nola, when Hannibal appeared before it, not doubting that he should soon become master of a place, in which he had all the populace, and most of the nobility, on his side. But Marcellus having, by sound of trumpet, forbid all of the citizens to approach the ramparts, or even leave their houses, on pain of death, sallied out at three several gates, fell unexpectedly upon Hannibal, killed five thousand of his men, and obliged the rest to retire in confusion. In this action, which revived the courage of the Romans, by shewing them that Hannibal was not invincible, the number of the killed on the side of the Romans amounted only to five hundred. This check was a sensible mortification to Hannibal, who thereupon left Nola, and marched to Acerræ, a small city in that neighbourhood; but the Acerrani, upon his approach, abandoned their houses, and retired, with their most valuable effects, to those cities in Campania which continued faithful to the Romans.

The Carthaginian, having made himself master of the empty city of Acerræ, in order to recover his reputation,

¹ Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 15, 17, 18. Plut. in Marcell.

undertook the siege of Casilinum, a strong town on the banks of the Volturnus, thinking it was garrisoned by Campanians; but a body of Prænestines, having found the inhabitants, as they passed through their city, wavering in their fidelity to Rome, massacred them in the night, and possessed themselves of the walls. These had been afterwards reinforced by about four hundred Perusians from Etruria, and a small number of Latins and Romans. As they were all men of bravery and resolution, they made such a vigorous defence, that Hannibal was obliged, after several fruitless attempts, to turn the siege into a blockade. Having therefore left part of his troops in the camp, when now approached, he quartered himself in the villages and open places of Campania, where he found an air and a life, which he brought home with him, and a relish for pleasure, which he had before lost to an effeminate life, the more he now indulged himself in it, spending most part of his time in feasting and revelling with the Capuan women. He was more frequently seen, says Valerius Maximus^k, among the young debauchees, in a public place called Seplasia, than in his camp before Casilinum. Seplasia was a public place in Capua, whither all the debauchees resorted; and any Roman, for barely appearing in it, would have been counted infamous^l. Thus Capua proved more fatal to Hannibal than Cannæ to the Romans. All the ancients reproach him more for the life he led at Capua, than for his having neglected to besiege Rome after the battle of Cannæ. The example of the general infected the soldiers in so much that, when he led them again in the spring to the siege of Casilinum, he found them discontented, and impatient of military toils. They were followed by troops of dissolute women; and, thinking it a hardship to live in tents, they deserted in crowds, and returned to Capua, and the other places in Campania, where they had spent the winter so much to their satisfaction. Hannibal, instead of attempting to storm the besieged town, endeavoured to reduce it by famine; and indeed the garrison was brought to the utmost extremity for want of provisions. Two Roman armies were within reach of the place, but neither in a condition to relieve it. The dictator Junius was soon recalled to Rome, to consult new auspices; and had forbid,

Hannibal besieges Casilinum.

Turns the siege into a blockade.

Hannibal enervates himself at Capua.

^k Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 1.

^l Vide Cic. in Pisonem.

before

before his departure, Sempronius, his general of the horse, to undertake any thing during his absence. The brave Marcellus was willing to relieve the besieged at all events; but the inhabitants of Nola would not suffer him to leave them, imagining, that the blockade of Casilinum was only a feint, and that Hannibal's real aim was to reduce their city.

Brave defence of the garrison of Casilinum.

Reduced to the utmost extremity.

Obliged to capitulate.

Petilia likewise taken.

In the mean time, the garrison of Casilinum were scarce able to carry their arms: many of them, to avoid perishing with hunger, or falling into Hannibal's hands, put an end to their unhappy lives. Sempronius, greatly affected with their distress, endeavoured to relieve them, by throwing first barrels of meal, and afterwards nuts, into the Volturnus, which ran through the town. This artifice being discovered, and all methods of supplying the city entirely stopped, Hannibal summoned the garrison to surrender; but those brave men, preferring death to slavery, would not hearken to his summons, though their hunger did not suffer them to spare any animal whatsoever; not even rats; at length they pulled off the skins of their bucklers, softened them in water, and lived upon them with great frugality; lastly, to give the enemy a proof of their constancy and resolution, they plowed up the ground near their houses, and sowed it with pulse. When Hannibal heard this circumstance, he cried out, "What, then! do the besieged design to keep me here till their seed is come to maturity?" From that time he shewed himself inclined to consent to a capitulation; which was soon agreed to by both parties, on this condition, that the freemen should be allowed to march out of the town, upon their paying seven ounces of gold a-head^m. Thus Hannibal made himself master of Casilinum, after a long blockade, during which the Prænestines and Perusians exhibited proofs of astonishing resolution. The inhabitants of Petilia, a city in the country of the Brutians, which Hannibal besieged next, gave him as much trouble as the garrison of Casilinum; but was taken at last, the Romans not being in a condition to send them succourⁿ.

As the best part of the Roman nobility had lost their lives in the war, the senators began to think of filling up the vacant places in the senate; and, because there were then no censors, they ordered Terentius Varro to nominate some person, who had been formerly censor, to be a second dictator, whose office should be wholly confined to this province. Terentius, named M. Fabius Buteo, the oldest of

^m Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 19.

ⁿ Ibid. cap. 20.

the former censors; but did not allow him a general of the horse. Fabius discharged his office with great prudence; for he first chose to the senatorial dignity all those, who, since the last censors, had obtained curule magistracies; then those, without exception, who had been tribunes of the people, plebeian ædiles, or quaestors; and lastly, such as had distinguished themselves in the army, or obtained any military rewards from their generals. Thus a hundred and seventy-seven new senators were created without jealousy, complaints, or contention; and the dictator had no sooner read the list to the people than he abdicated his dignity, highly applauded by all ranks of men.

The senate being thus filled up, the next business was to choose consuls for the ensuing year. Sempronius Gracchus, general of horse to the dictator Junius, and Posthumus Albinus, who commanded a body of troops in Cisalpine Gaul, were raised to the consulate. After the election of the consuls, the prætors, and other officers of state, were appointed; but in all these promotions Marcellus, notwithstanding the glory he had lately acquired, was entirely forgot, through the jealousy, as some writers conjecture, of the dictator Junius, who presided at the election of the new magistrates. The elections being over, the dictator returned to his camp; but the consul Sempronius continued in Rome to regulate with the senate the operations of the approaching campaign. In the mean time, news were brought to Rome, that Posthumus Albinus, who was just raised to the consulate a third time, had been cut off with all his army by the Boii in a vast forest, called by the Gauls, the forest of Litana, which he had been obliged to cross. Upon this intelligence the consul Sempronius, having assembled the senate, endeavoured to raise their dejected spirits, advising them, among other things, to withdraw all their forces from Gaul and other countries, and employ them against Hannibal, the source of all their evils. "If we can drive Hannibal out of Italy, (said he), the rebellious nations will be soon reduced." This advice was followed, and all the troops of the republic ordered into the provinces near Hannibal. The army which the dictator Junius had commanded was given to the consul Sempronius. Marcellus's army, which consisted of those who had escaped

Posthumus Albinus, with a Roman army, cut in pieces by the Boii.

• Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 22, 23.

the general slaughter at Cannæ, was commanded into Sicily, to continue there as long as the war should last in Italy. In exchange for them, the two legions, which had hitherto served in Sicily, were ordered to Italy, to serve under the consul, whom the centuries were soon to appoint in the room of Posthumius, who had been killed by the Boii. Terentius Varro, notwithstanding his late misconduct, was entrusted with the command of an army in Apulia, with the character of proconsul^a.

*Marcellus
is elected
consul ;*

When the time came for electing a new consul, the tribes unanimously chose Marcellus, notwithstanding the intrigues of Sempronius, who, fearing he might be eclipsed by the extraordinary merit of that great man, had kept him out of the way. However, a storm, attended with dreadful claps of thunder, happening to rise during the assembly, it is incredible with what greediness the augurs seized this accident, to declare, that the election of Marcellus was not agreeable to the gods. Marcellus was a plebeian, as was also his colleague Sempronius ; and the patricians, unwilling to see two plebeians consuls at the same time, influenced the augurs to pronounce the election of Marcellus disagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquiesced in the declaration of the augurs, had not Marcellus shewed himself on this occasion as zealous a republican as he was a great commander ; for he refused to accept the fasces, though offered him by the body of the people ; saying, that he had rather lead a private life than enjoy the greatest honours in the republic, contrary to the will of the gods, and the inclination of any of his fellow-citizens. The famous Fabius Maximus was chosen in his room, and raised a third time to the consulate^b.

*but abdi-
cates.*

While the republic was busy in making these elections, and preparations for pursuing the war, Hannibal made himself master of Consentia on the Crathis, of Crotona, Locri, and several other cities in Great Greece. The Romans, therefore, took the field. Fabius put himself at the head of those troops which the late dictator had commanded. Sempronius took the command of the new levies made at Rome, consisting mostly of slaves, to whom were added twenty-five thousand auxiliaries. The prætor Lævinus was ordered to cover Apulia with two legions.

*The several Roman
armies and
command-
ers.*

^a Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 24, 25.
in Marcell.

^b Liv. ibid. cap. 31. Plut.

Marcellus was appointed to command the troops with which he had defended Nola; but such among them as had escaped from the battle of Cannæ, were sent over to Sicily, their room being supplied by two legions from that island. Lastly, Terentius Varro led an army into Picenum to defend that country, and raise recruits.

Campania being now the seat of war, the Campanians, who had espoused the cause of Hannibal, raised an army of fourteen thousand men, and put Marius Alfius at the head of it. His first attempt was upon the city of Cumæ, which adhered to the Romans. The Cumæan senators, and those of the other cities of Campania, used annually to meet at a place called Hamæ, not far from Cumæ, to perform a solemn sacrifice, and deliberate upon the general affairs of the province. Alfius formed a scheme for surprising on this occasion the senators of Cumæ; but they suspecting his design, gave notice of it to the consul Sempronius, who, as he lay within six miles of them, attacked the Campanian army in the night, killed two thousand, among whom was their leader Alfius, and put the rest to flight. However, as Hannibal was not far distant, Sempronius, unwilling to expose his unexperienced troops to the danger of a battle, immediately retired, and shut himself up in Cumæ, which Hannibal invested; but was obliged to raise the siege, after he had lost thirteen hundred men in that unsuccessful attempt. At the same another Sempronius, surnamed Longus, who commanded a body of troops in Lucania, gained a considerable victory over Hanno; and Lævinus retook three cities in the country of the Hirpini, which had revolted to Hannibal^p. During these transactions, ambassadors from Philip king of Macedon to Hannibal being intercepted, and sent to Rome, the senate found, that a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was actually concluded between the Macedonian and Carthaginian. In order, therefore, to keep the former out of Italy, Lævinus was ordered to embark at Tarentum, sail for Macedon, and find king Philip employment at home.

The consul Sempronius routs the Campanians.

Alliance between Philip of Macedon and Hannibal.

Fabius, who had hitherto continued quiet in his camp at Cale, being apprised that his rival's remissness was not feigned, as he had imagined, but real, boldly passed the Volturnus, and, crossing a large plain near Mount Tifata,

^p Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 33, 35.

*Nola in-
vested by
Hannibal.*

on which Hannibal was encamped, joined his colleague Sempronius at Cumæ. On the other hand Marcellus, who was encamped at Nola, made daily incursions into the country of the Hirpini and Samnites, who had revolted to Hannibal, committing dreadful devastations. The Samnites, surpris'd to find Hannibal so inactive, and so little zealous in their defence, sent deputies, and, by their repeated complaints, prevailed upon him to come to their assistance. Upon his approach Marcellus retired behind the walls of Nola, which Hannibal immediately invested with his whole army. After he had, for some days, battered the walls with incredible fury, Marcellus, thinking it less dangerous to engage the enemy in the open field than in the narrow streets of Nola, the walls being already half ruined, resolv'd to put the whole to the issue of a general action. Accordingly he march'd out with his men in good order; and, after having oblig'd the Carthaginians, who were carrying on the siege, to retire to their camp, which was about a mile from the city, he form'd his small army in the plain between it and the Carthaginian camp. Hannibal could not persuade himself that Marcellus, whose forces were so much inferior in number to his own, really design'd to hazard a battle; however, after having encouraged his men with a short harangue, in which he treat'd the Romans with the utmost contempt, he advanced boldly, not doubting but the enemy would retire, at the sight of his army in battalia, behind the walls of the city. He was, therefore, greatly surpris'd, when he saw the Romans not only stand their ground, but, at the very first onset, put his advanced guard into disorder. Marcellus had arm'd his infantry with long pikes, us'd only at sea, and chiefly in boarding ships, and taught them how to manage this new kind of weapon, in order to keep the enemy at a distance; so that the Carthaginians, who carried only short javelins, finding it impossible to hurt the Romans, while they themselves were pierc'd through with their long pikes, began to retire, and to save themselves by flight to their camp. Marcellus pursu'd them close, kill'd five thousand, and took six hundred prisoners, nineteen standards, and two elephants, which, with some others, had been lately sent from Carthage. Marcellus lost about a thousand men, who were trod down by the Numidian horse, headed by Hannibal in person.

*Marcellus
defeats
Hannibal
in a pitched
battle.*

The Romans, encouraged by this advantage, asked leave of their general to attack Hannibal's camp; but the wise Marcellus, without attending to their request, founded a retreat, and returned to Nola, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the citizens. After this defeat, Hannibal had the farther mortification to be abandoned by twelve hundred and seventy-two of his best horse, partly Spaniards and partly Numidians, who had crossed the Alps with him. Some discontent was the occasion of their desertion; but they gave out, that the esteem they had conceived for the Romans induced them to quit the service of their enemies. Be that as it will, they continued ever after faithful to the republic, and did her important services; for which they were, in their old age, rewarded with lands in their own countries, when the Romans had conquered Africa and Spain. Hannibal was so touched with the reproach which this desertion of his old companions in victory threw upon him, that he left Campania, and, retiring into Apulia, encamped near Arpi. He was no sooner gone than Fabius, drawing near to Capua, laid waste the whole country about it, and then encamped at Sueffula, within reach of Naples and Nola, in order to succour them in case they should be attacked. Winter approaching, Fabius, either out of jealousy, or to lessen the expences of the republic, ordered Marcellus to disband his army, and to leave in Nola only a sufficient garrison to defend it. Marcellus obeyed, but did not go to Rome with his disbanded troops, choosing rather to stay at Nola than to be importuned at Rome by his friends, who were for his soliciting the consulate in the next election. As he had contributed more to the glory of the republic, and the discredit of Hannibal, than all the generals of Rome, or even Fabius, he was resolved to owe his promotion to his merit and services; and therefore, disdaining to offer himself as a candidate in the comitia, or to court the favour of the people, he spent the winter in tranquillity at Nola^s.

A body of Hannibal's best horse desert to the Romans.

During these transactions in Italy, the prætor, Manlius Torquatus, defeated the Sardinians, who had revolted, though assisted by an army sent from Carthage. under the command of Asdrubal, surnamed the Bald: he killed twelve thousand of the enemy upon the spot, took Asdrubal, with Hanno and Mago, his chief officers, prisoners,

Sardinia one more reduced.

^s Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 46. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 3.

*Asdrubal
defeated.*

and reduced the whole island. The two Scipios were equally successful in their wars in Spain, where, with an army only of sixteen thousand men, they gained a victory over Asdrubal, whose forces amounted to the number of sixty thousand^t. But the accounts which the senate received from Sicily, were not so satisfactory. King Hiero, who had continued faithful to the republic for fifty years together, had lately ended his days, and was succeeded by his grandson, Hieronymus, who, having insulted the Roman ambassadors, made a treaty of alliance with the Carthaginians, and was entirely governed by their counsels. This defection gave no small uneasiness to the senate, who ordered new levies to be raised and sent into Sicily^u.

Mean while, the consular year being almost expired, Fabius returned to Rome, to preside at the election of the new consuls. On the day appointed the tribes assembled, and the majority of the first tribe that voted, nominated to the consulship T. Otacilius and M. Aemilius Regillus, both men of merit, but not of such abilities as the present necessities required. Fabius, therefore, interrupting the election for a short time, exhorted the tribes to choose such consuls as they would name, if they were to appoint two generals to give Hannibal battle. As to those they had already named, he told them, that he could not be so partial to them, as to think them capable of opposing with success, the crafty and experienced African. He then ordered the first tribe to return to the voting-place, and give their suffrages anew. Otacilius, who was nearly related to Fabius, made, at first, some opposition to this proposal; but the tribunes, surrounding him with their axes, soon forced him to be silent. Then the tribes unanimously chose Fabius himself, and Claudius Marcellus, though absent^w. Rome had never seen two greater men together at the head of affairs. Fabius had, indeed, by an irregular method of proceeding, contributed to his own continuance in the consular dignity, contrary to law and custom; but yet no one accused him of ambition or tyranny, or imagined him actuated by any other motive than that of zeal for his country. The first step the new consuls took, was to raise six legions, to be added to the twelve already on the establishment. As the Sicilian expedition seemed to require most dispatch, Otacilius

*Fabius
Maximus
and Mar-
cellus elect-
ed consuls.*

^t Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 26.

^w Idem ibid. cap. 8.

^u Idem. lib. xxiv. cap. 4—6.

was ordered to embark with all expedition for that island. In order to equip a fleet for that service, each head of a family, worth from fifty thousand to a hundred thousand ascs, was obliged to maintain a rower or sailor, at his own expence, for six months; and the more wealthy were taxed at three, five, or seven, in proportion to their riches. The senators obliged themselves to maintain eight men, each for one year; so that a fleet was soon manned and equipped without being any ways chargeable to the republic *.

The Capuans, alarmed at the extraordinary number of the forces of the republic commanded by so many able generals, recalled Hannibal, who, quitting Apulia, and returning to his camp on Mount Tifata, ordered Hanno, at the head of seventeen thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to seize Beneventum: but Sempronius, by the direction of Fabius, having reached that city before the Carthaginian, made himself master of it, and then marched to meet Hanno, in order to give him battle. Sempronius's army consisted mostly of volones; and the general, in order to engage them to exert themselves, promised every man his freedom who should bring off the head of an enemy, the senate having impowered him to set at liberty such slaves as he should find worthy of that reward. No soldiers ever shewed a greater eagerness to engage an enemy than the volones did after Sempronius had made them this promise. They ranged themselves round the prætorium by break of day, soliciting the general to lead them against the enemy, that they might deliver themselves from slavery either by death or victory. Sempronius did not suffer their ardour to cool, but immediately led them into a neighbouring plain, through which Hanno was to pass, as Sempronius had been informed, on his march to Beneventum, not knowing that the Romans were already masters of that city. Accordingly, the Roman army were scarce drawn up, when Hanno appeared at the head of seventeen thousand foot, mostly Brutians and Lucanians, and twelve hundred Numidian horse. The Carthaginian advanced in good order into the plain, not doubting but he should soon put to the rout a handful of slaves accustomed to tremble, as he told his soldiers, at the voice of their masters. In the mean time the trumpets sounded, and the attack began with incre-

*Hannibal
returns into
Campania.*

*Sempronius
advances
against
Hanno;*

* Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 11. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 6.

*and defeats
him.*

dible fury on both sides. The volones fought with great bravery; but the promise Sempronius made them had like to have occasioned an entire defeat of his army. He had promised liberty to such only as carried off the head of an enemy: as soon, therefore, as any of them had dispatched his antagonist, he made it his whole business to cut off his head, and lost a great deal of time in that butchery. Besides, the ardor of those who had performed the condition on which they were to obtain their liberty, immediately abated; so that Sempronius was forced to publish a new declaration through all the ranks of his army, "That none should obtain their liberty unless the Carthaginians were routed." Upon this intimation the brave slaves renewed the fight with fresh vigour, and gained so complete a victory, that scarce two thousand of the enemy escaped. Sixteen thousand of them were killed either on the field of battle, or in the camp, which the volones forced, after they driven them out of the plain. Four thousand of Sempronius's slaves did not behave so well as the rest, being afraid to pursue the enemy to their camp: these, ashamed of their cowardice, retired, after the battle, to a high mountain, for fear of becoming the jest of their companions. Sempronius sent a tribune to invite them back; and then, to perform his promise, declared them all free without exception: however, to make some distinction between the brave and the cowards, he obliged the latter to take their meals standing, all the time they were in the service *.

*Marcellus
gains an
advantage
over Han-
nibal.*

In the mean time Hannibal, leaving his camp on Mount Tifata, took his route to Nola, invited thither by the populace, who were still in his interest, in opposition to the senate. Marcellus, receiving timely notice of his march, followed, and coming up with him near that city, killed two thousand of his men, with the loss only of four hundred. The Romans would, in all likelihood, have given him a total overthrow, had Claudius Nero, whom the consul had detached with a body of horse to take a large compass, and fall upon the Carthaginians in the rear during the action, come up in time. Marcellus offered Hannibal battle next day, but he declined it, and decamped in the night, laying aside all thoughts of taking Nola, which had so often proved fatal to his glory †. From Nola he led his army to Tarentum, where some Tarentine pri-

* Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 14—16.

† Id. ibid. cap. 17.

soners, whom he had formerly sent home without ransom, had engaged many young men in his interest: but the proprætor, Lævinus, who guarded that coast, took such effectual measures to prevent the designs of the seditious, that the Carthaginian, being again disappointed, abandoned the enterprize, and took the road to Salapia, a city in Apulia, with a design to spend the winter there. As the season was not yet far advanced, Fabius undertook the siege of Casilinum, which was garrisoned by two thousand Campanians, and seven hundred Carthaginians, under the command of a Capuan of distinction, named Statius Metius. The consul had no sooner invested the place, than Magius, prætor of Capua, which was but two miles from Casilinum, formed a strong body of troops, and armed even the slaves, with a design to attack the Romans in their trenches. Fabius, receiving intelligence of these preparations, wrote to his colleague Marcellus, either to come in person, or to send the prætor Sempronius with two legions, to cover the siege. In consequence of this demand, Marcellus, leaving only two thousand men in Nola (for Hannibal was then in winter-quarters in Apulia), marched with the rest of his army to join Fabius. And now the two greatest generals of Rome acted together for the first time, the one carrying on the siege, and the other covering it with an army, ready to engage Hannibal, or the Capuans, in case they should attempt to relieve the place.

The garrison made so vigorous a defence, that Fabius, discouraged by the daily slaughter of his men, would have raised the siege, had not Marcellus pressed him to pursue it; an advice which he followed with such vigour, that the Campanians, having lost all hopes of being relieved either by Hannibal, or their prætor Magius, sent deputies to Fabius, asking leave to march out of the place, and return to Capua. The consul consented to what they asked, knowing it would not be long before the city surrendered, when defended only by a small number of Carthaginians: but Marcellus, watching the time when the Campanians were to march out of the city, seized the gate before fifty of them were out, and entering the place, put all who opposed him to the sword, without distinction. Those who threw down their arms, whether Capuans, or Carthaginians, were made prisoners of war, and sent to Rome, Marcellus pretending that he was not obliged to observe the agreement made by his colleague.

*Fabius
besieges
Casilinum.*

*Casilinum
retaken by
the Ro-
mans.*

*Accua
taken by
young Fa-
bius.*

colleague. Fabius, being now master of Casilinum, laid waste great part of Campania, killed, or took prisoners, near twenty-five thousand men, made incursions into Samnium, where he surprised three hundred and seventy Roman deserters, and sent them to Rome, where they were first beaten with rods, and then thrown down the Tarpeian rock. Fabius had also the satisfaction to hear, that his son had gained great honour in Apulia, where he took the city of Accua, almost in sight of the Carthaginian army. Marcellus returned to Nola, where he was seized with a distemper which, for some time, suspended his martial ardor ^y.

*Lævinus
surprises
the camp of
the king of
Macedon.*

In the mean time Philip, king of Macedon, who, as we have observed above, had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Hannibal, began to move, and draw towards Italy. He first laid siege to Apollonia, a city at the head of the Adriatic sea; but not succeeding in that design, he turned his arms against Oricum. The inhabitants immediately sent notice of their danger to the prætor Lævinus, who, in two days after the news, arrived in their neighbourhood. Finding the city already taken, he easily recovered it; then formed a design of surprising the king of Macedon in his camp; and executed it with such success, that Philip himself would have fallen into the prætor's hands, had not a party of Macedonians carried him off, half-naked, to his ships. Lævinus killed about three thousand Macedonians, and took near twice that number of prisoners. The Macedonian fleet, which lay in the port of Oricum, being blocked up by the Roman navy, Philip was obliged to set fire to his ships, and return by land to his own territories with the miserable remains of his shattered army ^z. But Hannibal soon made himself amends for this disappointment on the side of Macedon, by the troubles he found means to raise in Sicily; where, after several plots, counterplots, and assassinations, Hippocrates, and Epicydes, the two agents whom the Carthaginians had sent to make a treaty with king Hieronymus were by the Syracusans chosen into the college of prætors; so that Syracuse, being now wholly devoted to the Carthaginian interest, it was thought necessary to send Marcellus with his army from Nola to the assistance of Claudius and

*Marcellus
sent into
Sicily.*

^y Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 19. Plut. in Fab.
cap. 40.

^z Liv. lib. xxiv.

Lentulus,

Lentulus, the two Roman prætors in Sicily. As to the particulars of this expedition, we refer our readers to our history of Sicily.

In Spain the two Scipios gained great advantage over the Carthaginians, who, in two battles, lost above twenty thousand men. The fruit of these successes was the retaking of Saguntum, the city which had given rise to the war. The old inhabitants, of whom few were now alive, were reinstated in their possessions; and the Turdetani, who had formerly joined Hannibal against that faithful city, being obliged to surrender at discretion, were made slaves, and sold by auction ^a.

*Advantages
gained by
the two
Scipios in
Spain.*

^a Liv. lib. xxiv. cap 41.

A
114.